

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of Part I of the Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning was exhausted within a few months of its publication in 1942. Since then, I had been contemplating to bring out a second edition, but this did not materialise on account of my other pre-occupations particularly because new works were constantly being undertaken and published in succession. I must however, acknowledge my gratitude in this connection to the Government of United Bengal for purchasing a large number of copies of the first edition for distribution all over India and outside. Numerous requests from all quarters reached me in the mean time for bringing out a second edition so I do hope though belated this edition will receive the same appreciation as the first one did.

This edition has been thoroughly revised and all up to date informations incorporated into it particularly on the basis of my own researches into the subject at hand and allied subjects. However as so many new and important materials could not be utilized in this volume two more volumes will be published soon in the same series.

The Prītyāvinī is extremely grateful to MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD Minister of Education Government of India for kindly extending his benign helping hand for bringing out the publications of the Institute. The Government of India have very kindly borne half the cost of publication of the present work as of several other works to be soon published by the Prītyāvinī.

Prītyāvinī  
19th February 1954

J B CHAUDHURI

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This work presents for the first time a systematic history of the contribution of Mahomedan rulers and scholars to Sanskrit Learning and the manifold attempts of several Mahomedan rulers to spread the same during their rule in India. A large number of Sanskrit MSS has been used for collecting first hand and authentic informations about the poets and their royal patrons. Some of the anthological works used for this purpose are being edited for the first time in my Series No 4 The Samskrta kosa kīvyā samgraha.

The Supplement consists of the Sanskrit Text of some of the laudatory verses on the Royal Moslem patrons of Sanskrit Learning (along with their translations) and also of the Āsaf vilasa Ākhyayika of Jagannatha Panditarāja edited here for the first time.

Thanks are due to Mr P K Gode Curator Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for kindly lending for my use the unique MSS of the Subhāsita hāravalī of Hari Kavi Padya venī by Venudatta Sabhya lamkarana by Jagajivana the Payamṛta taranginī of Haribhāskara the Āsaf vilasa of Jagannātha and so on. As these are the only MSS of the respective works that are known to exist my gratitude to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is indeed very great.

*Presidency College  
Calcutta*

J B C

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## INTRODUCTION

Communal fraternity may be of two kinds—Senti-mental and intellectual. The former implies religious fusion and the latter mutual love for the languages and literatures of each other. Both these interrelated aspects of communal harmony became manifest during Moslem rule in India. The object of the present work is to give an authoritative account of the second aspect only. So only a brief outline of the first aspect is given below.

Power of assimilation is the characteristic feature of Indian people. Whatever be the creed, it is by and by absorbed by the great assimilating force of Mother India. The consequence in the Mediaeval ages has therefore been the fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu Culture and Civilization. The innermost heart of the Indian people is always alert to receive the Truth, whatever be the source and in doing so, it knows no barrier—of caste and creed. This is exemplified best in the grand intermixture of Hinduism and Mahomedanism in Mediaeval times. Even to-day the Hindus honour no less than the Mahomedans the great reformer saint Makhdum Sayyad Ali al Hujwiri who was originally an inhabitant of Ghazni. His disciple Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1236) brought very close together both the Hindus and Moslems in their quest of the Supreme Soul. As a

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In former times Andāl a woman of low caste, was worshipped by the followers of the Ālvārs in the South. The works of Pariahs like Thirupam, author of the Tiru Vayamoli, were recognized by religious leaders like Rāmānuja. Later on Caitanya in Bengal, Śaṅkaradeva in Assam, Tukā Ramā and Nāmadvta in Mahārāstra and similarly, other great religious leaders never cared for caste system or bothered about distinguishing between Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among the famous pupils of Rāmānanda were Ravidāsa a shoe maker, Senā a barbar and Kabir a Mahomedan weaver. Kabir's life long mission was a synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism and his noble precepts were translated into action by Nānaka, Dādū, Jivana Dāsa, Premā Dasa, Bijli Khān, Rajjab and others. Barī Saheb, Bīrī Saheb, Yatī Sāheb, Bulla Saheb—whether Hindu or Moslem—all took up one great mission—viz. unity between the Hindus and Moslems in religious as well as social life. Women too, at this time, came to the forefront of religious rejuvenation as is evidenced by Nānībāi and Mātā Bāi (daughters of Dādū), Mirā, Janā Bai, Dayābāi, Ksemā or Ksemaśrī, Tāj and others.

This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in literature as well—Vernacular and Classical. The Dohās etc. in Hindi of great religious leaders—both

consequence of this intermixture of both the creeds, the Husaini Brahmanas of Rajputana are found following Mahomedan practices though mostly they follow Hindu customs and rituals, again, the Imam Shahi sect are found following the authority of the Atharva veda and of Niskalanka. The great saints advocating Sufism such as Nizāmuddīn Auliya, Farīduddīn Shākarganj, Karīm Shāh, Shāh Inayat Siāhī Kalāndar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life, as a consequence Hinduism or Mahomedanism as a creed mattered little to them. The celebrated saint Bābā Fattu of Kāngra was a disciple of Hindu saint Gulab. He was worshipped alike both by the Hindus and Mahomedans of the Punjab. The Khojas and the followers of Musā Suhāg are tremendously influenced by Hinduism while the Piran Panthans worship Niskalanka. The Muslim lady Tāj was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa and wrote many songs on Him as Supreme Soul. In spiritual life there was thus a great synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism—Hindus being the disciples of Muslims and vice versa—all caring for Truth and Sadhanā, not for the external superfluities of Religion. This was the time when new saints like Satyapira were worshipped by both the communities. And this was the time when caste system was abhorred and wilfully violated.



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This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in literature as well—Vernacular and Classical. The Dohās etc. in Hindi of great religious leaders—both

Mahomedans and Hindus, are the sources of inspiration and devotion in religious life of the members of both the communities.

Bengali in particular was much enriched by this inner urge for a true religious life—irrespective of caste and creed. Quite a large number of Mahomedan writers—some of them poets of a high order—contributed substantially to Bengali Literature. They were mostly inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult as preached by Śrī Caitanya; again, there were many who wrote on other subjects. Śrī Caitanya disdained racial or social distinction.<sup>1</sup> The result was that even rulers like Husain Shah soon became attracted to him<sup>2</sup>. Mahomedans all over Bengal not only enjoyed the Padāvalīs but

1. Yavana Haridāsa was one of his favourite disciples. Again, Buddhimanta Khān became a personal attendant of Śrī Caitanya. Vṛndāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata says:—

बुद्धिमन्त खाने प्रभु दिला आलिङ्गन ।

साहार आनन्द अति अकथ्य कथन ॥ 10th chapter

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta, chapter 10, records:—

धीवैतन्येर अतिप्रिय बुद्धिमन्त खान ।

आजन्म आज्ञाकारी तिहँ सेवक प्रधान ॥

Buddhimanta accompanied him to Nīlācala as well:—

बलिलेन बुद्धिमन्त खान महाशय ।

आजन्म चैतन्य आज्ञा याँहार विषय ॥ 9th chapter

2. ये हुसेन साहा सर्व उद्दिप्यार देखे ।

देवमूर्ति भाङ्गिलेक देखल विशेषे ।

हेन यवनेओ मानिलेक गौरधन्य ॥

themselves became the votaries of the Muse. Nasir Māhmud,<sup>1</sup> Fakir Habīb,<sup>2</sup> Saiyad Martujā,<sup>3</sup>

1. Nasir Māhmud dedicates himself to the holy feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa :—

आगम निगम वेद-सार, लीला ये करत गोद विहार ।  
नशिर मासुद करत आछ, चरखे बरख दानधि ॥

His Pada of which the above is the end has been included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavedāsa.

2. He, too, cannot live without Kṛṣṇa :—

फकिर हविय बले, कानुरे देखितु भासे,  
येन छशी पूर्ण उदय ।  
हेन मम करे दिया, कानुरे समुखे भूया  
निरवधि देखहुँ सदाय ॥

3. The following Pada of Saiyad Martujā included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavedāsa is indeed grand :—  
व्याम वैशु, आमार पराख मुमि ।

फोन् शुभदिने देखा सोमा सने  
पाछस्ति नारि आनि ॥  
बलन देखिये ओ चाँद-बन्ने  
घैरय घस्ति नारि ।  
अभागीर प्राथ करे आनूचाम्  
दण्डे दणवार मरि ॥  
मोर कर दया देह पददाया  
गुन गुन पराख कानु ।  
हुल शील सब भासाहनु जने  
न सीयव तुया विनु ॥

Here the poet himself becomes a woman for 'higher spiritual blessedness' and one is naturally reminded of Cardinal Newman's statement—"If thy soul wants to attain the higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a woman, yes, however manly thou mayst be among men".

Fatan,<sup>1</sup> Cānd Kāji,<sup>2</sup> etc have sung the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as enthusiastically and religiously, as gracefully Cp also—St. Juan—"Make myself thy bride. I will rejoice in nothing till I am in thy arms." His Padas on the description of Kṛṣṇa, Māna, Bhāva-sammelana, etc, too are very beautiful

1. Fatan in one of his Padas depicts Rādhā in separation. Rādhā says —

आर मोर पृकि परमाद हइल ।  
 छटफट करे हिया कह ना बैथुरे याइया  
 कि दिया किवा गुण कैल ॥  
 जीते मोर नाहि साध मिछामिछि परिवाद  
 मिछा पाके देखिया रैनु ।  
 पुन करम मोर, कलङ्कुर नाहि ओर,  
 सहिते ना पारि आर कृपा करि कर पार,  
 जनम अवधि हु स पाइनु ॥  
 अधम फतनेर साध, क्षम प्रभु अपराध  
 राजा पाय शरण लैनु ॥

2 The picture of Rādhā in love as found below is indeed beautiful —

बाँशी बाजाजान जानना  
 असमय बाजाओ बाँशी पराण माने ना ।  
 यलन आमि वेला थाकि गुरुजनार काछे ।  
 तुमि नाम धइरा बाजाओ बाँशी, आर आमि महरि साजे ॥  
 ओपार हते बाजाओ बाँशी, एपार हइते शुनि ।  
 आर अभागिया नारी हाम हे साँतार नाहि जानि ॥  
 ये भाडेर बाँशेर बाँशी, से भाडेर लागि पाँओ ।  
 जडे मूले उपाडिया यमुनाय भासाँओ ॥  
 चाँद काजि बसे बाँशी शुने करे मरि ।  
 जीमु ना जीमु ना आमि ना देखिले हरि ॥

and sweetly as possible. *Alirājā*,<sup>1</sup> *Ākbar Sāhā*,<sup>2</sup> *Kabīr*,<sup>3</sup>

1. He flourished somewhere near Feni in Chittagong. One of his *Padāvalis* ends as follows:—

ये मुने तोमार वशी      से बड़ देवेर अंशी  
प्रचारि कहिते वासि भय ।  
गृहवासे किवा साध      वशी मोर प्राणनाथ  
गुरूपदे अलिराजा कय ॥

2. One of his *Padas* is devoted to the description of the physical charm of *Caitanyadeva*:—

जिउ जिउ मोर मन चोर गोरा ।  
आपहि नाचत आपना रसे भोरा ॥ध्रु॥  
खोल करताल बाजे भिकि भिकिया ।  
आनन्दे भक्त नाचे लिकि लिक्किया ॥  
पद दुइ चारि छलु नट नटिया ।  
पिर नाहि होयत आनन्दे मातोयालिया ॥  
ऐक्यन पटुके बाहु बालहारि ।  
साह आकबर तोर प्रेम भिलारी ॥

3. He depicts an excellent picture of *Rādhā* followed by *Kṛṣṇa* in course of the sports during *Holi*:—

बरज किशोरी कागु खिलत रङ्गे ।  
धूपा-बन्दन,      आधीर गोलाव  
देयत रयामेर अङ्गे ॥  
कागु हाते करि      फिरत घोहरि  
फिरि फिरि बोलत राह ।  
धूमट उठामें      ध्यान दयायत  
पेरि पेरि ऐसे मेघसे धाँद सुचाह ॥  
ललिता एक सखी,      कागु हाते करि  
देयत कानु भयान ।  
मृकभानु किशोरी      दुहुँ बाहु धरि  
मारत रयाम भयान ॥  
आधीर एक सखी,      जाउ जाउ करि  
काँहा सागाओ आधीर ।  
कमरि कागु सेह,      कान भयान बेरि बेर देयन  
हा हा करत कधीर ॥

Sekh Bhikhan,<sup>1</sup> Sekh Jālāl, Sekhlāla, etc are also poets of no mean order. They have written on various Mood types of women as described in the Alamkāra and Kāma Śāstras with particular reference to Rādhā and also on Kṛṣṇa as Supreme Soul and Śrī Caitanya as an incarnation of God.

1 Rādhā in her "Khaṇḍitā" mood is depicted nicely in one of his Padas. Kṛṣṇa passed the night somewhere else and naturally—Rādhā's wrath knows no bounds. She takes Kṛṣṇa to task —

सवाह बले राघार पराय कानाइ ।  
 तुमि रजनी बञ्जिले कोन ठाँइ ॥ध्रु॥  
 केमन बानाले घडा, अबाधे दुसितेछे  
 मेसिते नार दुदि आंखि ।  
 हव ना मधुरा गति कि कव बूझार भीति  
 रयाम अङ्गे लागियाछे नाखि ॥  
 कुङ्कुम कस्तूरी आर, सुगन्धि ताम्बुल,  
 घुइयाछिनु सियर उपर ।  
 हा हरि हा हरि करि जागिया पोहानु निशि  
 तुमि छिले काहार मन्दिर ॥  
 सेख मिलन भयो बड दुःख राहयेर मने,  
 पायरिले पूरव पीरिति ।  
 आमार करम दोषे तुमि चाक अन्या पाशे  
 हउक येन राघार मिरिति ॥

Just as, on the one hand, many Moslems helped the spread of the Hindu Culture and Civilization by honouring their religious sentiments and ideas, by following many of their rites and rituals, by patronising and contributing to Sanskrit Literature—so, on the other hand, many Hindu devotees and scholars, too, were the torch-bearers of Islamic Culture and Civilization, by preaching the innermost truth of Islam and paying homage to the Prophet and Moslem saints, by observing many Moslem practices and by patronising, and contributing to, Persian and Urdu Literature.

Thus, there was a great synthesis of Hindu and Moslem Cultures and Civilizations during Moslem rule in India. It was possible in those days for individuals of different leanings and capacities to follow the creeds and pursue the course of studies that suited them best, without communal bias and social bar. Otherwise, there could not have been so many Moslem devotees of Hindu saints, etc. and so many Mahomedan scholars in Sanskrit studies just as there could not have been numerous Hindu disciples of Moslem saints and votaries of Islamic Learning. If this could happen even during an age when the relation between the two communities was that between the ruler and the ruled, there is no inner reason why it should not be the case to-day also, when no such relationship exists.

## MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

It is well-known that the Moslem rulers of India were great patrons of Learning and Fine Arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sankritic Culture and Learning as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, many valuable records of their scholarly achievements are irreparably lost to us and the surviving literature also is available only in MSS. scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and it enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences, many Moslem rulers of India were prone to extend their best support to the development of Hindu Culture and Civilization. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.

Of the Sanskrit poets who adorned the courts of the



Moslem rulers, three of the greatest are Bhānukara, Akbariya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Panditarāja. In this work I shall first give brief accounts of their lives and literary activities on the basis of the informations collected from the various unpublished MSS of their works, anthologies preserving some of their verses, etc.

Of the Mohomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shaha-buddin, Nizām Shāh, Sher Shāh, Akbar, Shāh Jahan, Muddāfar Shāh, Burhān Khān and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are,—apart from Bhānukara, Akbariya Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Panditarāja,—Amrtadatta, Pundarika Vitthala, Harinārāyana Mīśra, Vamsīdhara, Laksmīpati and so on. Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these poets also are given below.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangement followed here is chronological.

### BHĀNUKARA

Bhānukara is not only of the earliest of the poets mentioned above but also seems to have enjoyed the widest popularity as a poet. The Rasika-jivana of Gadādhara Bhatta, Sabhyālamkarana of Govindajit, Padya venī of Venīdatta, Padyāmṛta-taranginī of Haribhāskara, Subhāsita hārāvalī of Hari Kavi and Subhā

1. See also the second volume of this Series which will soon be published

sitasāra-samuccaya the last two of which have not been published as yet contain about 160 verses of Bhānukara. The Padyaracanā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series alone contains 180 verses many of which are not found in the above six unpublished anthological works.

## LIFE AND DATE

### *Bhānukara vs. Bhānudatta and personal history*

The evidence of the anthological works is in support of the identity of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta, author of the Gīta-Gaurīśa and its tippana, Kāvya-dīpikā, Rasa-mañjarī and its commentary as well as Rasa-taranginī all of which are available in print and also of the Kumāra-bhārgaviya (a campū based on the Purānas), Alamkāra-tīlaka ḡṇḍ Śrngāra dīpikā which are as yet unpublished<sup>1</sup>. Quite a large number of verses quoted under the name of Bhānukara are traced in the Rasa-mañjarī,<sup>2</sup>

1. Kumāra Bh., India Office Library MS. 1540. Alamkāra T., Tanjore MSS, Catalogue, IX. 1407 and Mysore, 295. Śrngāra D., Cat. Cat. 1. 661.

2. अय रेया-कुञ्जः, etc.=SA. 234=RM. 21, p 50; आनन्दं किल, etc.=SSS. 836=RM. 4. p. 9. एते चारि-कथान्, etc.=SA. 270=RM. 29. p. 65. कान्ते कनक-जम्बीरं, etc.=SA. 327=RM. 112, p 138; चन्द्रोदये चन्दनं, etc.=SA. 303=SSS 178=RM 79. p 141, तमोज्ज्वले, etc.=SA. 326r v. 111, p. 188, त्वं दूति निगाः, etc.=SSS 606=RM 33, p 75, त्वं पोदय, etc.=SA. 312=RM 100. p 166, दासाय भजन, etc.=SA. 246=RM. 24. p 57. दुःखं दीर्घतरं, etc.=SHV. 1944=RM. 39. p. 91; दूती विष्णुपाता=SSS 177=RM 75. p. 136, दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्मुख. etc.=SA.

Gita-Gaurīśa,<sup>1</sup> and Rasa-taraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta<sup>2</sup>.

(2) The same verses are found in different important anthologies under the names of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. (3) One of Bhānukara's verses (Serial no. 789) has been quoted by Venīdatta in his Padya-venī

273=RM. 32, p. 72; नखचतमुरःस्थले, etc.=SSS. 752=RM. 11, p. 25; नायं मुञ्चति, etc.=SA. 690=RM. 86, p. 149; निद्रासु-केकिं, etc.=SA. 267=RM. 28, p. 63; गीताचीरमुपागता, etc.=SA. 189=RM. 5, p. 11; पद्मिनामघिषस्य, etc.=SSS. 181=RM. 81, p. 142; माला बालाम्बुजं, etc.=SSS. 582=RM. 41, p. 94; रत्नसादपि, etc.=SA. 292=RM. 78, p. 239; लोसालिपुञ्ज, etc.=SA. 206=RM. 12, p. 30; शङ्का-शङ्कुलितेन, etc.=PV. 464=RM. 105, p. 172; शून्यं कुञ्ज-गृहं, etc.=PV. 361=RM. 56, p. 144; संस्पृश्य स्तनं=SSS. 20=RM. 10, p. 22; छातं वारिदं, etc.=SA. 288=PV. 363=RM. 62, p. 121; हस्ते एताऽपि, etc.=SSS. 825=RM. 7, p. 15.

1. आत्मोद्यं वरुणं वृषाति=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 3=Rasa-mañjarī, 1=Gita-Gaurīpati, p. 90, 2; अकरोः किमु नेत्र-शोषिमानं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 53, x. 5=Rasa-mañjarī, v. 51=Gita-Gaurīpati, p. 146; जीवेन मुलितं प्रेम, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 42, v. 18=Gita-Gaurīśa, p. 18, 4; यदेतद्वाचयं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 7, v. 38—with slight alterations in reading=Gita-Gaurīśa, p. 48, 7.

2. विना सायं कोऽयं समुदयति, etc.=Rasika-jīvana, fol = Padya-racanā, p. 33, v. 25=Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, v. 89=Rasa-taraṅgiṇī Benares ed., p. 14; भित्तौ भित्तौ प्रतिफलगतं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 21=RT., p. 42; निष्पीते कलशोद्भवेन जग्धौ, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 21, v. 32=Sūkti-sundara, =RT., p. 45a; सौन्दर्यस्य मनोमयेन गणना, etc.=Rasika-jīvana=RT., p. 53; अनुधनमनुयान्तं बाष्प-वारि, etc.=PR. p. 86, v. 19=RT., p. 77; भूपादेव सतां हिताय, etc.=PR. p. 2, v. 10 दिव्यहरेर्मुक्त-हरे, etc.=PR., p. 87, v. 26=RT. p. 81a.

as 'Gaṇapatiputra-Bhānukarasya' and, from the last verse of the *Rasamañjarī*<sup>2</sup> etc. as well as from the *Pañjīs* of *Mithilā*,<sup>3</sup> we come to know that Bhānudatta was the son of Gaṇapati. (4) Moreover Bhānudatta refers to Nizāma-Dharaṇipāla in verse 121 of his *Rasa-mañjarī*<sup>4</sup> and in the anthologies several verses ascribed to Bhānukara are devoted to the eulogies of Nizām Shah.

Thus it seems that Bhānukara is really identical with Bhānudatta. His father's name was Gaṇapati as given in the *Padya-veṇī*, *Rasa-mañjarī* as well as the *Pañjīs* of *Mithilā*, etc. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life etc.

1. यशोधननिघेः, etc.

2. तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः कवि-कुलालङ्कार-भूषामणि-  
दंशो यस्य विदेहभूः सरमरिक्-यसोत्-किर्तिरिता ।  
एतेन स्व-कृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता  
वाग्देवी-धुति पारिजात-कुसुम-स्पर्शकरी मञ्जरी ॥

3. The *Pañjīs* of *Mithilā* furnish the following lineage of Bhānucandra :



4. P. 190, Benares ed.

Bhānudatta himself gives his own genealogy in the Kumāra bhārgaviya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Pañjis of Mithilā except that in the former Viśvanatha is represented as the son of Sureśvara and Ravinātha as the grandson of Sureśvara, not his son <sup>1</sup>

### *Date.*

In one of his verses Bhānukara eulogises Sher Shah<sup>2</sup> As Sher Shah ruled from 1540-1545 A D , it is evident that Bhānukara flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not a bit earlier.

Again, two verses of Bhānukara devoted to the praise of one mighty ruler Kṛṣṇa are preserved in the Padyaracanā of Lasmana Bhatta Āṅkolakara<sup>3</sup> This Kṛṣṇa was, most probably, emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1509 1530 A D

1 See India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS , Vol vii, n 1540

2 श्लोकार्धे वा तदर्थे यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्दुस्ते  
किं नगिह्यत तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषा काव्यकोटीश्वराणाम् ।  
वाहारवेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-समग रया पञ्चषा काण खञ्जा  
का हानि शेरसाह त्रितिप-कुलमण्यारण्यकोटीश्वरस्य ॥

3 (a) कृष्ण समर-सतृष्ण दृष्टवतो विष्टरध्वस ।  
राजन्य जन्म मूले मुज-मूले [भान्ति] पुलक-मुकलानि ॥

(b) प्रस्थान रतिमन्दिरात् कर्माक्षिणी बन्धोरपि प्रक्षय  
काकु केलिविधि विनाऽपि चरण-न्यास पृथिव्यामपि ।  
किं च बलान्तमतालवृन्तपवन प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गति  
द्रष्टव्य किमतोऽपि कृष्ण-नृपते प्रत्यर्थि-वामभ्रुधाम् ॥

In several verses<sup>1</sup> Bhānukara eulogises one Nizam Shah. Either of the two Nizams who were ruling in India in the first half of the sixteenth century may be referred to by Bhānukara in his verses. One was Boorhan Nizam Shah I and the other Nizam Khan, later on known as Sikander Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.). It is more likely that the former is meant as in some of the verses the Nizam is also addressed as Nizam Shah. Now, Nizam Shah was a general title of the rulers of the Nizam Shahi dynasty whose ruling period extended from 1497 A.D. to 1637 A.D. The particular Nizam Shah who was ruling during the period of Sher Shah's reign was Boorhan Nizam Shah I who ruled from 1510 to 1553 A.D. As he ruled about 43 years, probably the majority of the verses of Bhānukara referring to Nizam Shah would refer to him. The poet referring to Sher Shah as ruler (1540-45 A.D.) cannot be young in age as he professes in the same verse that he himself composed a very large number of verses by that time. Boorhan Nizam Shah already ruled for 39 years when Sher Shah was crowned king. He ruled for 13 years more after the accession of Sher Shah to the throne. Unless the poet was very long-lived, he could not probably praise any other living ruler of the Nizam Shahi dynasty except Boorhan Nizam Shah I.

1. See under the heading *Patrons of Bhānukara*.

In three of his verses<sup>1</sup> Bhānukara refers to one king Virabhānu who is represented as lording it over the kings of Delhi, Orissa, Bengal and Gujrat. There were several kings of the same name who ruled before the time of the poet himself<sup>2</sup> and therefore he could not refer to them as living rulers in his verses. The inference may be to king Bhānu of Kacchapa dynasty, father of Bhagavantadāsa and grandfather of Mādhava-

- 1 (a) लङ्का धामनि धीरमानु वृषते प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदय  
प्रत्यागारमघोर-भीरजहयो भूयो हुताश-भ्रमात् ।  
सुम्यद्वाणि विपूत पाणि विगलन्मुक्तमणि प्रस्खलद  
बाष्प श्रेणि त्वलोल-येणि दयितं कण्ठ-स्थने बिभ्रति ॥

Padya veni, Ms. v. 64 and Sukti sundara, Ms. v. 102

- (b) भेरी भाङ्गुतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनद कुम्भीन्दकोलाहलै  
प्रस्थाने तव धीरमान दलितं ब्रह्माण्ड-भारबोद्धरम् ।  
आचाय ज्वलति प्रताप-द्दहने रङ्गे पुनर्वेषसा  
तारानायक-तारका सुरसरिदुष्पामादिबाह्योजितम् ॥

Padya veni Ms. v. 114, Sukti sundara Ms. v. 150

- (c) दिह्लीयो द्वारदेशे नमति गजपतिस्तत्परस्तादुपास्ते  
गौडन्द्रो नम्रमूर्धा तदनु भरपतिर्गुर्जरोर्ध्विश्चरोऽपि ।  
भृत्वेधं वन्दि वृन्दादवनत यदनो गौरवं सन्न कुर्वन्  
वीर श्रीवीरमानो रचयसि पुस्तकं धीर-सदमीकपोले ॥

Sāra saṃgraha of Sambhudāsa Paṇḍita Ms of RASB, 31A

2 See List of Inscriptions and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India by Robert Sewell Madras 1884, p. 47 (Virabhānudeva inscriptions are dated 1335, 1237-1240 A D) Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Raṅgācārya, vol III, p. 2055, etc. The Ganjam (274) and Vizagapattam inscriptions (96-97) of Virabhānu are dated Śaka 1275 (1353 A D) and 1298 (1376 A D) respectively

simha and Mānasimha Mādhavasimha as the patron of Pundarika Vitthala, author of the Rāga mañjarī has been referred to by him in his work.<sup>1</sup> The same work also mentions that Mādhavasimha the patron and his brother Mānasimha were great favourites of emperor Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 A D. So chronologically there is not much difficulty in Bhānukara's referring to the grandfather of Mādhavasimha, favourite of Akbar. But it is more probable that by Virabhānu, Bhānukara really refers to Vaghela Virabhānu<sup>2</sup> of Rewah (1540-1555 A D) who was married to Sukumāradevī and father of Rāmacandra who ruled from 1555 to 1592 A D and was a contemporary of Akbar. There is no chronological difficulty, again, reference to Vaghela kings in the verses of Sanskrit poets of the sixteenth century A D. and the liberal

1. श्रीमद्वृद्धव-वंश-दीपक-महाराजाधिराजेश्वर-  
सैन्य-पुत्र महाप्रताप-निकरो भानु द्वितीय राजने ।

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol XXI, pp 279ff. In a MS of Somadeva's Kathāsarit Sāgara copied by Rūpaṇi who enjoyed the patronage of Bhāvasimha, one of the descendants of Vaghela Virabhānu of Rewah, the lineage of Virabhānu is given vide MM Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol VII For a further reference to Virabhānu of Rewah, see Pradyotana-Bhattacharya's commentary Saradāgama on Candrāloka (Kashī Sanskrit Series, No 75). The account given here is slightly confusing



patronage extended by Vaghela kings to Sanskrit scholars, confirm our conjecture.

All the above evidences lead to the conclusion that Bhānukara or Bhānudatta flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Patrons of the poet were Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu or Rewah, Nizam Shah as well as Sher Shah.

Another evidence helps the positive determination of the lower limit of the date of Bhānukar or Bhānudatta. In connection with showing that some poets wrongly use "Purataḥ" in the sense of "in front of", Jagannātha quotes in his *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*<sup>1</sup> the very first line of the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Bhānudatta—आत्मीयं चरणं दधाति पुरतो निम्नोन्नतायां भुवि । Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, author of the *Asaf-vilāsa* was connected with the court of Shah Jahan who ascended the throne in 1627 A.D. Therefore, Bhānukara quoted by Jagannātha must have flourished before that date.

### *Patrons of Bhānukara*

Bhānukara was liberally patronised both by Hindu and Molem rulers of his time. As we have seen, he adorned the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu of Rewah, Sher Shah and Nizam

1. इदमप्यन्यत्तरेषु वाचकोपमेय-सुप्तायामुदाहरणं निरमीयत, etc., pp. 271-272 of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* with Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary, Benares ed.

Shah, Therefore, he seems to have been wandering from place to place, from one court to the other, although we have no means of knowing the exact period of his stay in each.

He appears to have a very great respect for Nizam Shah as he devoted as many as nine verses to his eulogy. Most probably, he wrote many more verses in his praise which are now lost to us. In his verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam<sup>1</sup>, the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kāma and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,<sup>2</sup> he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermillion-dust and the *kundas* on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails.

In one verse<sup>3</sup> he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahmā used the Mandākinī as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor of his house Puṣkara. Brahmā was on the look out for another person at least who would be Nizam's rival in the award of gifts. As he could not find out any, he

1. Padya-racanā, 17. 6

2. Padya-racanā, 16, 4

3. Padya-vepl, MS., v. v. 100

put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse<sup>1</sup> Bhānukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest. When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore the sea terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Āśvina about remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam<sup>2</sup>, the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse devoted to the victory of Nizam in battle,<sup>3</sup> the poet says that when the Nizam casts his angry look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin, has recourse to the banner of the all-conquering Nizam.

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, MS., v. 91; Padya-venī, MS., v. 113; Rasikajīvanā, MS., fol. 18.

2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, 85; Sūkti-sundara, v. 134.

3. Padya-venī, Ms., v. 132..

In the verse on the flag of the Nizām<sup>1</sup> the poet's fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizām is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, in the verse on the prowess of the Nizām<sup>2</sup> On account of the excessive heat of the king's prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts, as a consequence, the stairs of Indra's palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one verse<sup>3</sup> Bhānukara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahmā is engaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizām with the help of a chalk. The long syllables in the verse stand for the curved lines representing the lunar disc, the conch, the jasmine and the swan and the short ones for the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the tusks of an elephant.

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in

1 Padyāmṛta tarāṅginī v 15, Sūkti sundara, v 143 and Padya veni, v 151

2 Padya veni, v 69 and Sūkti sundara, u 105, Rasika-jivana, MS No 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol 13.

3 Padya racanā, 10 8 and Rasika-jivana, MS No 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol 15

praise of Sher Shah is left to us.<sup>1</sup> Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

### BHĀNUKARA AS A POET\*

The verses of Bhānukara collected from unpublished anthological works may be classified as follows:—

#### I. *Gods and incarnations of Viṣṇu* (6 verses).

1. Gaṇapati...SA. I (See also Bhānu Miśra for another verse on Gaṇapati, PT. v. 7, p. 3).
2. Śiva...SHV. 27
3. Kṛṣṇa...PV. 866
4. Varāha...PV. 853 = SHV. 46 (Viṣṇu)
5. Paraśurāma...PV. 858
6. Buddha...PV. 894 = SHV. 74 (Viṣṇu)

#### II. *Kings* (16 verses)

1. Nizam or Nizam Shah...6 verses: PT. 85 = SS. 134 (description of sword); PV. 69 = SS. 105 (description of prowess); PV. 100 (description of gifts); PV. 132 (description of the flag);

1. SHV. v. 468.

\* For additional verses in the *Padya-racanā*, see Verses of Bhānukara quoted in the *Padyaracanā*, p. clxi of the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*.

PT 84=SS. 143=PV 131 (description of the flag), PT. 91=SS 198 (description of the battle field)

- 2 Sher Shah 1 verse SHV 468
- 3 Virabhānu 3 verses PV. 64=SS. 102 (description of prowess) SS. 150=PV. 114 (description of the marching of the king) The former reads वीरमान and the latter gives the reading वीरवर्मा. One verse in the Sāra samgraha of Śambhudāsa दिल्ली दर देशे, etc.
- 3 Contd ? 2 verses PV 161 (the flight of the enemy [यस्य प्रौढतर दहन ज्वालाभिः, etc may refer to वीरमान] SS. 163 (description of the battle), the word मान in the verse may have a bearing upon the name of the king
- 4 Kings in general 3 verses PT. 107 (the flight of the enemy), SS 172 (the city of the enemy), PT. 95=SS 156 (description of the battle), SS 131 and 132 (the assertion of a hero vanquishing others)

### III Sentiments (5 verses)

- 1 Karuna PV. 793
- 2 Raudra PV 810
3. Śānta PV. 812
 

Śāntasys paścāttāpa	PV. 815
Śantasya	PV. 819

IV. *Women*

- a. Vayaḥ-saṁdhi...3 verses: SA. 189; SA. 192; SSS. 799 and SSS. 798
- b. Taruṇaṁ vayaḥ ..4 verses: SSS. 817, 825, 835; SA. 199, 836
2. Beauty of features...(12 verses)
  - a. Face...2 verses:] PT. 136 = SHV. 1637; SHV. 1647
  - b. Mark on the forehead...SA. 74
  - c. Eyes...SA. 80
  - d. Arm-pit...SA. 115
  - e. Romāvali...2 verses: SA. 137 and SA. 139
  - f. The middle of the body...2 verses: SA. 134; SA. 135
  - g. Thighs...PV. 199
  - h. General description...2 verses: SHV. 1749; SA. 62; SA. 53 (suppleness of the body).
3. Types...(31 verses)
  - a. Paroḍhā...SA. 234  
Sāmānya-vanitā...2 verses: SA. 273; PV. 321  
Atiśrabdha-navoḍhā...PV. 305  
Prema-garvitā...2 verses:] SA. 278 and SA. 279  
Virahinī...SHV. 1944  
-anutāpa...SHV. 1933

Vitahini avasthā-varnana ..SHV 1952

.. pralāpa ..SA. 697

Mānini (heading Bhartuh śūsūsā in the  
SA., it is really a verse on Mānini)  
SA. 222

Vāsaka sajjitā SA. 402

Karkaśa PV. 387

Kalahāntarītā SA 756

Vipralabdhā PV. 361

Utkā SA 288 = PV. 363

Madhyā Dhirāh SA. 206

Kriyā vidagdhā SA. 246

Vṛtta surata gopana. .SA. 236

Vartisyamana surata gopanā SA 238

Vṛtta vartisyamāna surata-gopanā . SA 240

Kulatū SA 258, SHV. 1851

Kulatopadeśa.. SA 260

Bhāvi śhūnābhāva śamkayā SA 267

Bharturgatnanānumānena . SA 270

Anuśayānā SA 264

Abhisārikā samcāra kathana SSS 177

Jyotsnābhisārikā SA. 303 = SSS. 178

Divābhisārikā. SSS 181

Dūti "

(a) Nāyakasyāgre Dūty ukṛtīh SSS 582

(b) Dūty-upahāsa.. SSS 606



V. *Men* (4 verses)

1. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Anu-  
kulaḥ...SA. 317
2. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Dak-  
ṣiṇaḥ...SA. 318
3. Viyoginaḥ pralāpaḥ...SSS. 564
4. Kupuruṣaḥ...PV. 766

VI. *Love* (14 verses)

Vacana-vyaṅga-samāgama...SA. 326

Ceṣṭā-vyaṅga-samāgama...2 verses: SA. 327  
and SA. 328

Gamana-vighnopāya ..SA. 690

Surata-varṇana...3 verses: SA. 469=SSS.  
713; SA. 470; SSS. 714; SSS. 727

Ratārambha...2 verses: SSS. 706 and SSS. 707

Ratāvasāna ..2 verses: SSS. 751 and SSS. 752

Viparita-surata...SA. 478=SSS. 737

Parakīyā-rata-praśaṃsā...SA. 464

Sama...SA. 672

VII. *Nature* (8 verses)

Morning...2 verses: SSS. 13 and SSS. 20

Midday...SA. 529

Evening...SA. 348; PV. 560; SSS. 148

Moon-rise...PV. 573

„ „ ...2 verses: SSS. 192 and SSS. 193

Darkness...SSS. 152

VIII. *Seasons* (13 verses)

Summer...3 verses: SSS. 327; PV. 615 and  
PV. 616

Rainy-season...SV. 574

Autumn...SSS. 404=SA. 591

Hemanta...2 verses: PV. 649=SSS. 423=  
SA. 599; PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601

Winter...3 verses: SA. 610; SSS. 451; PV.  
656

Spring...2 verses: PV. 602; SA. 617

IX. *Religion: Devotion* (1 verse)

Kīrtana...PT. 266

X. *Holy places, rivers, etc.* (4 verses)

Veṇī (Trivenī)...PV. 877

Maṇikarnikā...PT. 42

Lake...PV. 726

Tapovana (attributed to both Gaṇapati and  
Bhānukara)...PV. 665

XI. *Anyoktis* (3 verses)

Cuckoo...PV. 690

Parrot...PV. 691

Lion...PV. 707

Cloud...PV. 717

Moon...PV. 741

XII. *Miscellaneous* (6 verses)

Khadyota...SA. 558

Bhramari-kṛīḍā...SA. 173 = SSS. 113

Vana-keli...2 verses: SSS. 82 and SSS. 83

Kavi-varṇana...PV. 789 (Here Bhānukara is expressly stated to be the son of Gaṇapati).

Vidyā...PV. 881 (Here his name is given as Bhānukara Miśra; PT., however, attributes the verse to Bhāskara).

*Bhānukara as a poet*

That Bhānukara or Bhānucandra Miśra was a poet of a high order can by no means be doubted; that he was very popular is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the sixteenth century A.D. This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to his depth of thought and analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and naturally, his writing is very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects as shown above; in almost every subject, there are beautiful verses which at once arrest our attention. Only a few are noticed below.

In his verse on the Buddha, he says that when the Buddha stood against the Vedas (Vedic rituals), the Om-kāra fled off, leaving aside its dot (bindu). Then it had come into the possession of Śiva who used it as

a trident (really on the top of it) and the dot began to shine in the hand of Śrīkṛṣṇa as the disc Sudarśana.<sup>1</sup> Here the poet suggests that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) came into prominence as gods after the wane of Buddhism in India. His picture of the earth as it was when it emerged out of the ocean and hung on the teeth of the Boar, is also interesting.<sup>2</sup>

His verses on the Nizam<sup>3</sup> are of paramount interest establishing as they do a good relationship between the poet and his patron. This, among other evidences, shows that Mahomedan patronage for Sanskrit learning was not lacking in India in the sixteenth century A.D.

In a verse on the flag of the Nizam the poet assumes that it is nothing but the tongue of the

1. पायाद्भुवनपुः, etc.: Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, MS., v. 74; Padya-venī, MS. v. 864 The Padya-venī reading is:—  
माया-वद-कुतूहले ।

[ कुतूह-वर्णनम् ]

माया-वद-कुतूहले भगवति व्याधोलयस्यमा-  
नोद्गारेण भयातुरेण चलितं बिन्दुं विहाय क्वचित् ।  
शोद्धारः क्व-पञ्जरं पुरमिदो मेने त्रिगुलच्छला-  
द्विन्दुश्चक्र-मिषेण केटभरिपोस्तस्यै वराम्भोरदे ॥

2.

[ वराह-वर्णनम् ]

भूयादेव सर्वा हिताय भगवान् कोलाधवारो हरिः  
स्निग्धोः क्लेशमपास्य यस्य दशन-ग्रान्ते नटस्या भुजः ।  
क्षारा हारति पारिदस्त्रालकति स्वर्गहिनी मास्यति  
प्रोडा-दर्पयति जपापतिरुद्धैव वाटङ्कति ॥

Subhāṣita-hārāvalī MS. v. 46; Padya-venī, MS. v. 853.

3. See supplement.

earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same<sup>1</sup>. In another verse also on the king, Bhānukara's poetic fancy takes a lofty flight. The enemies of the king in heaven feel like fighting on hearing the violent blowing of the conch ; they swing about their hands on the arrows in the form of the eye-brows of the divine-damsels who present themselves for embracing them.<sup>2</sup> In the verse on the march of Virabhānu for conquest ; the poet says that the world had a crack in between on account of the sound of drums, neighing of horses and trumpeting of elephants when he started ; (then) the resultant crack was removed by means of borax in the form of the Mandākinī, the moon and stars heated on the fire of the king's prowess.<sup>3</sup> The pun employed by the poet in the verse on the plight of enemies<sup>4</sup> much enhances its beauty.

1. नृपति-निजाम-धमू-चरणा-पंश-जनिस्त-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।  
रचयति बहिरिव रसनामरुणं घञ-कृतवादवनिः ॥

PT. 84 = PV 131.

2. भल्लैर्मिश्राः प्रतिनृपतयः शङ्खनादानुदाराण-  
भूत्वा राजन् पुनरपि मुञ्जा-दण्ड-कण्टकविभाजः ।  
श्यालिङ्गन्यास्त्रिदश सदृशो अ-सतां पीड्य मुमां  
चाप-भ्रान्त्या चपल-भनसो हस्तमाधर्तयन्ति ॥

PT. 95 = SS. 156.

3. मेरी-भाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदे, etc.  
4. तादृगदण्ड-विवर्त-नर्तित-महो-वकादपक्रामिताः  
कापि कापि च कण्टकैरुपगता रेखोपरेखा-भ्रमम् ।  
यस्य प्रौढतर-प्रताप-तपन-ज्वालाभिरन्ते दिशा-  
मापाके निपतन्ति पार्थिव-घटा जीर्यन्ति शीर्यन्ति ॥ PV. 161

The poet demonstrates the sentiment of tranquility well in one of his verses on the same. Nothing appears substantial, he says, when one looks back upon life from a very advanced stage, thus the roaming about of the past appears to be all waste of energy, acquisition of knowledge nothing but provision for wrangling about and love for women all worry due to final separation and nothing more, moreover, a man at that time whole-heartedly cares for a religious life and pines for the past part of life that appears to them almost void.<sup>1</sup> In another verse he longs for worshipping Dāmodara in a creeper bower at Benares, undisturbed by any woman.<sup>2</sup>

All the verses under sections 4-5 could well have been placed under the heading 'Love'. But as the *Nāyakas* or *Nāyikās* are the main objectives of the poet in the verses in question, they have been grouped under the headings—'Women' and 'Men'. Woman is almost synonymous with Love and therefore, it is only natural that out of a collection of 130 verses of a poet, only four verses are devoted to Men in love.

1. लोणी-पर्यटनं शमाय विदुषां वादाय विद्याजिता  
मानं व्यसन-देतुं परिचिनास्ते ते धराधीश्वरा ।  
विरसेषां समोऽ-सन्द-रुषामास्ये कृता हृदय  
कुत्रानेन मया प्रयाग-नगरे नाऽऽश्रयि नारायणम् ॥ PV. 815.
2. परीरम्भारम्भ स्तवद्वय-वन्दन-द्वय  
ममोक्त्य स्त्रीक्षामभिनव-रुपा-मुत्तमपरम् ।  
कदा वासवामस्यामुत्तम-सता-वृत्तं वृद्धे  
ममस्यामो हामोदरं तव पदाम्भारहृत् ॥ PV. 812.

A beautiful woman at the advent of youth is a marvel and the poet says, even the god of Love on rare occasions finds the Venus influencing his fate<sup>1</sup> and only a person with Brhaspati in the eleventh zodiac sign can expect to dally with her.<sup>2</sup>

The eye is a predominant feature of the beauty of a woman; it is more beautiful than a lotus because when God weighs them in a balance, He is required to place Māsas (Phaseolus Radiatus) on the scale of the lotus, the bees representing them as such.<sup>3</sup>

Again, a verse on the middle of a woman's body assigns a fine reason why the middle region is appropriately called a vacuum.<sup>4</sup>

1. प्रातः स्मेर-सरोरहामयमुषाध्यायो दृशोर्विभ्रमः  
पाणिः कोकिल-यात्रि पल्लव-सहाध्यायी समुन्मीलति ।  
सन्दर्भो वचसां पथेलिम-सुधा-सिद्धान्त-वेतसिडको  
जानीमः कुतुमायुषस्य भगवान् भाग्यालये भार्गवः ॥  
SA 198=SSS. 817.
2. यात्री कार्त्तिक-रोहिणीपति-चलत्-पीयूष-कलोलिनो  
घटो दृष्टिकाल-कुन्दकलिका-स्नायय-सीलावितम् ।  
नो जाने गमयिष्यतस्तत्र चिरादङ्गे दिनं केलिभिः  
कस्य भीफल-पीरर-स्तनि अयेकादशस्यो गुरुः ॥  
SA. 199=SSS. 835.
3. गपनस्य गुप्तां धके नलिनेन नतम् यः ।  
न्यूने च नलिने मृद्ग-माशानेप विधिर्दधे ॥  
SA. 80.
4. गुप्ताभोगे स न-गिरियुगे प्रौढ विम्वे नितम्बे  
सीमा-देशे हरति नृपती यौवने जम्भमाणे ।  
मध्यो भीरु-कपिर्दुः। ययौ पद्मश्रेष्ठयायाः  
शून्यं मध्यम्यममिति सतः सवतः द्विवदन्ती ॥  
SA. 135.

Various types of heroines—Svakīyā, Parakīyā, etc. and their mood types such as Mānini, Kalahāntarītā, Utkā, Vipralabdhā, etc. have also been successfully depicted by the poet. A lady-love separated from the beloved as a consequence of a quarrel takes it for granted that a man is restless and a woman, on the other hand, steady and sincere and moreover, she argues, there is no reason why two youthful persons should not from time to time quarrel, but why should these wretched creatures—the bee, the Moon, and Madana—be tormenting her all along?¹ The pangs suffered by a separated woman eat into her vitals and she presents a really painful sight² but a lady-love longing for reunion at any cost whatsoever presents in herself a much more pitiable object, she indeed goes to any length to recover her lost love³ and even a stone must melt at her solicitations

1. वलं वेत्त वृत्ता सहस्र-सरसं पङ्कजं तपो  
भक्तयेवं शीघ्रं क्वचिदपि कदाचित्तदृश्यो ।  
वदेवङ्गं भृङ्गो विधुरपि विदुष्यात् परिमये  
स्मरौ मा मञ्जीवादिति किमपि नाज्ञातिपमद्वयम् ॥ SA 756
2. दुःखं दोषस्तु बहुन्यपि सखीवर्णाय नो भाषते  
शुभाङ्गं शयनं सृजत्यपि पुनः शोते नवा लज्जया ।  
कथंते गदुमद्वधमश्नति दृष्टोपचेन बाष्पोदक  
सन्ताप सहते यदम्बुजं मुखो तद्वैद्यं केतोभव ॥ SHV. 1944
3. स्नातं पारिदं आरिभिर्विषयितो वासो धने कान्ते  
शौतेन्द्रन्दनं किन्दुभिर्मनसिजो देव स्माराशिव ।  
मीता जाग्रत-मतेन रजनी मीढा कृता दक्षिणा  
तस्य किं न तपस्तयाप स कथं नाप्यपि नेत्रातिवि ॥

PV 363=SA 288



The psychology and doings of a fallen type of woman, a lady on tryst in broad day-light or at night etc. etc. have been nicely analysed by the poet. Fallen women care for money alone and are the very antithesis of love<sup>1</sup> and do not believe even in the sympathy of God for them; they simply exclaim that He has done absolutely nothing for them.<sup>2</sup> They go to the length of inciting even their daughters—in any case, those who are very much like daughters to them—to evil acts.<sup>3</sup>

1. (a) केशः कुन्द-मिषाद्विषोपहसति द्रव्यैर्विहोनाञ्जनान्  
यनां ग्रन्थि-धनं विलोकिषुमिवोद्विषोवस्तनस्तिष्ठति ।  
प्रेमच्छेद-कृपाण-बलि-सपमां रोमाक्षिरालम्बते  
यस्याः सा कथमस्तु चेत्तसि चमत्काराय वामकमाः ॥

PV. 321.

- (b) हृष्टा प्राङ्गण-सन्निधौ बहुधनं दातारमभ्यागतं  
यज्ञाञ्जौ तनुतः परस्परमिवाग्लेपं कुरङ्गीदृष्टः ।  
आनन्दाद्भु-पयांसि मुञ्चति मुहुर्भालामिषात् पुन्तलो  
दृष्टिः किञ्च घनागमं कथयितुं कथान्तिष्ठ गच्छति ॥
2. पृते पारिकष्यान् किरन्ति पुरुषान् वपन्ति नाम्भोधराः  
शलाः शाद्वलमुद्रमन्ति न सृजन्त्येते धुननायकान् ।  
त्रैलोक्ये तरवः पलाशान् हवते नैवाऽऽरभन्ते क्षनान्  
घातः कातरमालपामि कुलटा-देतोस्त्वया किं कृतम् ॥

SA. 258—SHV. 1851.

3. चेत् पौरादपि शङ्कसे हिमरुचेरप्यर्चिषो सञ्जते  
भोगोन्द्रादपि चेद् विभेषि तिमिरस्तौमादपि त्रस्यसि ।  
चेत् कुजादपि दूयसे जलधरध्वानादपि क्षुभ्यसि  
प्रायः पुत्रि हतास्मि हन्त भविता त्वत्तः कलङ्कः कुले ॥

SA. 960.

The messenger-maidens engaged in love-intrigues are always very clever fellows. One of them reports to the lover that ever since he was away the unfortunate girl got rid of the garland of budding lotuses, pearl-necklace and waist-girdle but that was not all; her bracelets slipped down from her arms to the wrist as if to ascertain whether she had lost her pulse too.<sup>1</sup>

The poet has also drawn good pictures of men, as distinguished from women. Howsoever, a woman may decry that a man is insincere in love-matters, the poet shows that a man also may love to the extent of madness. Almost like a woman, he piteously bewails that he is in no way an enemy of the kunda flower, honey, bee, waves of nectar, cloud, lunar disc, and lotus, but they all have turned out hostile to him simply because she puts them all to shame by her teeth, melodious voice, sweet gaze, laughter, hair, face and breast respectively, while residing in his heart.<sup>2</sup>

1. माला बालाम्बुजदलमयी मौक्तिकी द्वार यष्टिः  
काञ्ची याते प्रभवति दुरौ छत्र वः प्रस्थितेव ।  
अन्यद् य म किमपि घमनी वर्तते वा न प्रेति  
शतं पाथेरद्वय वलयो वाहुमूल प्रयाति ॥

SSS, 582.

2. ...

SSS, 564,

A lady-love does not always explicitly speak out that the beloved one must not go; but she has her own ways to do things. She tells him that even after death a woman never recovers from the fever of separation she once contracts; before she departs from this world she must know whether the betel-nut, flowers, sandal, water, etc. which act like poison in this life would be so painful in the other world as well.<sup>1</sup>

Bhāṇukara's verses on nature are novel in conception and enchanting in expression. The night, the poet says, leaves its bower, the sky, having arranged its hair in the form of darkness that scattered all over in course of its dalliance and having worn its earring, viz. the lunar disc, as soon as the dawn appears.<sup>2</sup> Again, the morning would, no doubt, appear to many as very pleasant but it is most unpleasant to some at least. The poet draws a beautiful picture of a lady-love concealing in the morning the blue lily on her ear so that her

१. . . . .  
" " "

४६।

स्यादत्रैव परमं तत् किमु विप-ज्वालावली-दुःसहम् ॥

SA. 690

2. सश्रिगृह विदुः तमोमयं यामिनी तदनु केचि-विच्युतम् ।  
कुर्वती ध्रुवसि चन्द्रमण्डलं कुण्डलं गगन-कुञ्जमुन्मत्ति ॥

**SSS, 13.**

beloved one may not be disappointed.<sup>1</sup> Herself knowing that the morning is there to torment them by separation she somehow conceals the faded lily in order to save him from a rude shock and violent despair.

In one verse Bhānukara depicts the evening as a chaste wife who enters the room for having a light as soon as she sees the moon<sup>2</sup>.

The poet explains the moon-rise as follows. The night is a lady, the sky a bower, the moon extends his 'kara' out of love.<sup>3</sup> Again, he thinks that the moon-rise is due to the machination of Kāmadeva who intends to find out the stolen Sun. In order to detect the real thief, he performs a magical rite, viz. setting a dish (moon) to motion. For this purpose, Kāmadeva scatters all around uncooked rice in the form of stars;

1. सस्यूय स्तवमाकलय्य वदन् सखिल्य कथ्य-स्थल  
निप्यीरुपाधर-विन्दमम्बरमपाकृत्य भुदस्वालकम् ।  
द्वयस्याम्बुजिनीपतेः समुदयं विज्ञासमाप्ते प्रिये  
यामाक्षी वसवाग्रलैः श्रवणयोर्नीलोत्पलं निहृते ॥

SSS- 20.

2. मृगाङ्गमागत वीक्ष्य सम्भ्रया मुलवपूरिव ।  
दीपलेखाभिप्रादेवा निर्विवेच निवेतनम् ॥

PV. 560=SA=SSS. 140.

3. नभोसता-कुम्भमुपागतायाः प्रमोदपर्यङ्गल-तारकायाः ।  
निष्ठा-प्रियायाः स्फुरता करेण शशी तमज्जुक्मुमुमुनोच ॥

SSS. 193.

the cooing of the cuckoos is nothing but the chanting of mantras by him and the moon is the dish he uses.<sup>1</sup>

In one of his verses on the summer Bhānukara has employed a pun very effectively.<sup>2</sup> Of much effect has been the use of a happily chosen word viz. Kanyā-rāśi in a verse on the description of the Autumn.<sup>3</sup> In his description of the Hemanta the poet strikingly attributes the husband-wife relationship to the Day and the Night, during this season. The Day offers the major portion of the sky (or the cloth) to the beloved night and himself shrinks for her satisfaction.<sup>4</sup>

Bhānudatta was the author of the Gita-Gaurīśa with the ṭippaṇa on the same work that is a prototype

1. ताराक्षतानिव किन् कलकण्ठनादान्  
मन्त्राक्षराणि निगन् कुसुमेपुरेयः ।  
लाभाय वासरमण्येमुं पितस्य सार्व  
सद्यारयत्नमृतदीपिति-कांस्यपात्रम् ॥ PV. 573.

तारा = 1. a star : 2. pupil of the eye.

स्फुरित = 1. bright : 2. restless. कर = 1. rays : 2. hand. This magical rite is performed even today in some parts of the country for detecting thieves.

2. SA. 529. 3. PV. 650-SSS. 424, = SA. 601.

4. अम्बरमेव रमण्ये यामिन्यै वासरः प्रेषान् ।

अधिकं ददौ निजाज्ञादयः सङ्कुचितस्तस्यौ ॥

PV. 650-SSS. 424 = SA. 601

अम्बर = 1. the sky : 2. the cloth. The idea is that in the Hemanta the day is very short and the night is long.

of the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, and had certainly some leaning towards religion. The authors of the anthologies consulted have not, however, cared to quote his verses on religious topics such as Śravaṇa, Manana, Kīrtana etc., the PT being the only work to preserve one verse on the utterance of the holy name of Nārāyaṇa. Through a figure of speech known as *prativastūpamā*, the poet states that just as the digging and the levelling of the earth, etc. are useless if no seed be sown, the perusal of the holy scriptures, the Purāṇas etc. are all in vain if the sacred name of Kamalākānta be not uttered.<sup>1</sup>

The anthologies preserve a few verses of Bhānukara on the holy places, etc. In a verse on Manikarnikā, he suitably employs the *Virodha alamkāra* in showing how a bather in the same attains the state of Śiva<sup>2</sup> and in a

1 वेदस्याध्ययनं कृतं, etc PT 266

2' स्नात वारिषु निमग्नेषु जदिलो जात शुभ कुन्तल  
काय स्नातमेव पङ्क फल कण्ठे पुन कासिमा ।  
उद्दामा खलु बोचय परिचिता कान्त करा भस्मना  
मात धीमशिकर्षि कर्णपर्यं जल्पामि कोऽयं श्रम ॥ PT 42

This is a good example of the figure of speech *Virodha*. Here the devotee means to say that he has really attained the state of Śiva on account of his bath in the Manikarnika though the wording is such that the second part of each pāda may be interpreted otherwise.

verse on the Triveni he assigns some reason in his poetic way why its water should be darkish.<sup>1</sup>

In his Anyokti on the Lion he illustrates how heredity works. No sooner is a cub born than it exhibits a tendency to jump upon the temple of an elephant even before sucking its mother's breast.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in his other Anyokti verses too he hints at some truth or other.

One outstanding feature of Bhānukara's composition is his great liking for the employment of figures of speech.<sup>3</sup> The lofty flight of his poetical fancy couched in the garb of idiomatic language reaches at times the maximum height of poetic excellence, particularly with the aid of rhetorical perfection

- 1 उरीकतु तुहिन किरणप्रोतिधारामुदारा  
दूरीकर्तुं दिनकर-कर क्लेश बाधामगाधाम् ।  
यत्त्वा पुण्ये पथसि विशति छातुकामा श्रियामा  
प्रातस्तस्यास्तिमिरततिभि श्यामल नीरमस्या ॥

PV 877

- 2 जात स्तन्यं न जग्राह कण्ठीरवकिणोरक ।  
चक्षुर्व्यापारयामास कुञ्जे कुञ्जरपालिनि ॥

PV 707

- 3 प्रतिवस्तूपमा in PT 266, श्लेष in a large number of verses, व्यङ्ग्य-व्यतिरेक and प्रत्यनीक in SSS 564 आर्यो परितल्यानु प्राणित विपमालङ्कार in PV 815, आन्तिमान् in SA । परम्परित-साङ्ग-रूपक in PV 573 सूत्रम् in SSS 606, एकदेश-विवर्ति त्रिष्ट रूपक in SSS 193, etc etc

# AKBARIYA-KĀLIDĀSA

## *His date*

Akbarīya Kālīdāsa composed a work entitled Rāmacandra-yaśah praśasti in praise of Vaghela Rāmacandra of Rewa who was a contemporary of Akbar and ruled from 1555-1592. We published for the first time a critical edition of this valuable work<sup>1</sup> as vol. 3 of Pracyavani Gopal Chunder Law Memorial Text Series in 1946. In the introduction in English to this work, we discussed about the date of the work and came to the conclusion that the work must have been composed by 1580 A D. Here we also dealt with the Family of the patron of the author viz the Royal Family of Rewa and the importance of Rāmacandra yaśah prabandha as a Sanskrit work, particularly, about its style which has a unique grace and beauty of its own. The authors of the Padya-racanā, Sūkti Sundara and the Padyaveni have quoted verses from this work (see Appendix to this work)

From the colophon to this work—इत्यम्बरी-कालिदास-  
कवि श्रीगोविन्द भट्ट-विरचित श्रीमहाराधिराज-रामचन्द्र वर प्रबन्ध समाप्त —  
it is clear that Akbarīya Kālīdāsa's real name was Govinda Bhatta. As a contemporary of Rāmacandra and Akbar, Akbarīya-Kālīdāsa must have flourished about 400 years ago.

1. For MS. see p. 85 of Mm Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sans. Mss. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 85, Calcutta 1923.



*His patrons*

Akbariya Kālidāsa was one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his age. Though he had had other patrons, the name of the poet itself shows that this Kālidāsa of the sixteenth century A D was a great favourite of Akbar. Nothing about his parentage is, however, known. He praises in his verses several kings who must have extended patronage to him in some form or other, and he avowedly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him. Thus, he refers to Gurjarendra, Jallala, Vaghela, Dalapati, Virabhānu putra or Rāmacandra of Rewa and Akbar. He praises the king of Gurjara as one whose fame has pervaded the whole world.<sup>1</sup> King Jallala is referred to in a beautiful verse on the wife of his enemy.<sup>2</sup> The Vaghela King praised by Akbariya Kālidasa was Rāmacandra of Rewa who was responsible for sending Tānasena to the court of Akbar.<sup>3</sup> His father Virabhānu was the patron of poet Bhānukara.<sup>4</sup>

1. विस्फार्य व्योम गङ्गामल गुरु-सहरो-केतवात् केसरालो-  
रुचंस्मास्तस्य-देशे हिमकर-कपदान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।  
दिङ्नागारश्च-भ्रम्पस्तत्र विशद यथा केसरी गुजरेन्द्र  
महायदारण्य वीथी-गिरि-गहन दूरी सक्रमो चङ्गमोति ॥PV.77
2. जलाल क्षोण्णपाल त्वदहित भयने सञ्चरन्ती किराती  
कीयान्पालोक्य रत्नान्गुस्तर-सदिराङ्गार-शङ्का विभति ।  
श्रुत्वा श्रीखण्ड खण्ड तदुपरि मुकुलोभूत-नेत्रा घमती  
आसामोदानुयातरति-कुल निरुद्धमशङ्का विभति ।

SS. 174, PV 168, 4th line missing in the latter MS

3. For details about the kings of Rewa, see Dr Hirānanda Sastri's *Memoir on the Vaghela Dynasty of Rewa*, 1926

4. See under Bhānukara

One of his verses is devoted to the praise of king Rāma for his charitable acts,<sup>1</sup> particularly the gift of elephants. The king of Kābila who is said to have invaded the country of Vaghela was repulsed by the latter in spite of the former's very strong army<sup>2</sup>. In another verse he describes the sword of the Vaghela king, to him it appears like a swarm of bees emerging out of the calyx of his hand lotus<sup>3</sup>. In a verse in the form of a colloquy between Gauri and Rambha he alludes to the mighty prowess of the son of king Virabhānu i.e. king Rāmacandra of Rewah<sup>4</sup>. He praises the queen of Dalapati in one verse<sup>5</sup>. He describes Akbar as an

- 1 राम त्वदत्त-मत्तेन कुम्भे नि सरदम्बुनि ।  
दिक्षु भिक्षु गृह द्वारि वारानिषिद्धयसि ॥ PV. 96
- 2 Padyāṁṣṭa taraugini 72=HV 67=SS 121 •
- 3 गृध्र निगदन्त्यमी जलद-कम्जल-न्योतिष  
महासि सतिका करे सत्र घषेल पञ्चावन ।  
प्रताप-तापन स्फुरतु-कर सराज-कोयोत्थित  
द्विरक्ष सहरोति मे मनसि बुद्धिद्वन्द्वम्भवे ॥
- 4 हे गौरि म हि रम्भे कनकमयनदीमेदि सीतावगाद-  
महासिदानन्द मुग्धे कनकमयनदो कुत्र ? केयं प्रयाति ?  
वीरघो-वीरमानु जितितियक-कुचस्वाम्य चञ्चल-प्रताप  
ज्वाला-कलास-ताप द्रुत-वनरु-गिरि स्वन्द धाराप्रवाह ॥  
PV. 65
- 5 चन्द्र चन्द्रायतुहं चन्द्रदधि चयं चन्द्रिका चन्द्रकान्तं  
पार्वती-साफलान्त यमर-सद्वरो बाल-भाराचयं च ।  
सर्वीरुयन्ति दर्शिक तिलकमपि ध्यम्त-गुर्वीति-मद्भि  
स्वर्चीयं प्रेक्षिता रे दनपति-गृहस्थि स्वयय स्तोम-नामाः ॥  
PV 76

outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion.<sup>1</sup> The emperor he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> In another verse his sword is beautifully compared with various objects.<sup>3</sup> The *Sūkti-sundara*<sup>4</sup> preserves a verse in which the poet describes the march of the Nizam for conquest. But as both the *Padyāmṛtataranginī*<sup>5</sup> and the *Padya-venī*<sup>6</sup> attribute the verse to Bhānukara, the attribution of *Sundarācārya* does not seem authentic.

There are a few other verses which he presumably composed for pleasing some king or other.<sup>7</sup>

1. शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मङ्कल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे  
दो स्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधर केसरी मध्य-देशे ।  
घम्मिहो ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भू-युगे काल-दयह -  
स्तस्मै श्रीहुमाजकुल-तिलकमण्डे भौषण्याङ्गीपण्डोऽसि ॥

PV. 53

2. घोरं स्वं कामुकञ्चेदकवर, etc. = PT 97 = SS. 158

3 PT. 89 = PV. 138 = *Rasika-jivana*, fol 14a, 29 = *Padya racanā*, 29 27. Probably, Jallāla praised by Akbariyya Kalidasa (p 34) is the same as Akbar.

4. V, 168 (see *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*)

5. V. 191.

6. बाह-व्यह-सुर-ज्ञतां पद्ममूर्तीं सवीर्य मूर्ध्निवर्ती, et = PT 01 (मानुकर) = PV. 133 (मानुकर) = SS. 168 (अश्वरी०)

- 7 (a) यदन्तु देव सावर्कं प्रतापमेव पावर्कं

महा-सुषार-गीतल यद्राम हे पय यत ।

सुमेरु-कन्दरान्तरे स्थितो गृहीत-कम्बल-

स्तवारि-भूप-नायक. प्रकम्पते सुहृमुङ्ग ॥ PV. 67

*Akbarīya-Kālidāsa as a poet*

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the *Padya-venī*.<sup>1</sup>

The verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa that are traced may be classified as follows:—

Subject	No. of verses
1. Personal ... .. 1	
2. Deities	
a. Bhavānī ... 6: PV. 16, 36-38; SHV. 273-274	
Bhavānīchatra ... 1: PV. 46	
Devīchatra ... 1: PV. 47	
b. Sambhu ... 3: PV. 25, 14-15	
c. Gaṇeśa ... 2: PT. 6=PV. 11; SHV. 124	
d. Kṛṣṇa ... 3: PV. 33-35	
3. Animal	
The horse ... 1: PV. 126=SS. 124	
4. Love	
Virahinī ... 1: PV. 611=SSS. 309	
5. Nature	
a. Summer-wind ... 2: PV. 620=SSS. 330; and SSS. 329	
b. Malaya-breeze ... 1: PV. 609	
c. Moon-rise ... 1: PV. 580; SSS. 205	

(b) त्वयि प्रचलिते विभो सुरगटाय-रङ्ग-यदनु-  
धरावलय-धूलिभिः सकलमेव कोर्यं वसः ।  
दिवाकर-दवापत्नी-निगलन्त्य-सद्यारज-  
धमापनधनाय किं वद्यमतीवमूर्ख्यं गता ॥ PV. III

(c) एत-महाप्रह, etc. SS 63, see Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā

1. अनाराध्य कालीमनास्वाद्य गौरीभूते मन्त्र-तन्त्राद् विना शब्द-पौर्यात् ।  
प्रत्यर्थं प्रगल्भं प्रकृतं प्रकृतं विरिधि-प्रशङ्गे मदन्यः कविः कः ॥

6. Description of kings 12. PV 53, PV 67, PV. 76, PV. 111, PV. 168=SS. 174, SS. 63=PR. 1P. 14, SS 168=PT. 91=PV 133, PV 77=SS 80, PT. 97=SS 158, PT. 72=PV. 66=SS. 121, PT. 89=PV. 138=PR 21 27, PV. 65

Sword of a Vaghela king 1 PV. 139

Gifts of king Rama 1: PV. 96

7. Anyāpadeśa . 1: PV 732

8. Features • Hair .. 1 PV. 259

9. Kavi varnana .. 1 PV 786

Akbariya Kalidāsa did not professedly belong to any particular religious sect such as Śākta or Vaisnava. He pays homage to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhavānī and Gaṇeśa. Three of his verses are devoted to Viṣṇu (including one on Kṛṣṇa), three to Śiva, eight to Bhavānī and two to Gaṇeśa.

In a verse on goddess Durgā he prays to her for protecting him from all evils in that majestic form in which she is worshipped by Indra with the Mandāra flowers that attract a large number of bees. As they sit on the golden umbrella of the goddess, they constitute another umbrella as it were and the goddess appears like wearing two umbrellas<sup>1</sup> In another verse

1. सेवा सारम्भ-जम्भप्रतिमट रमसोन्मुक्त-मन्दार-माला

पञ्चन्माध्वीक-धारा-यहलित-सहरी-सम्पदालिच्छदाभि ।

ऊर्ध्वं यदालयाभिर्विरचित-रचनादम्यरं देवि दुर्गे

हेमच्छयोपरि त्वच्छिरसि मधुकरच्छदमग्याद्भन्यात् ॥ PV. 47

he praises the umbrella of the goddess as a wonderful thing No sooner is it seen than it enters the head <sup>1</sup> Again, he pays homage to the goddess in her Jvālāmukhī form in two verses Very fortunate are they, exclaims the poet, who worship the holy feet of Jvālāmukhī with bodies horripilated, eyes tearful, and heads rolling on the ground—muttering prayers in faltering accents <sup>2</sup> Again, the poet worships her for dispelling all the gloom of his miseries by means of the shooting rays of her toes <sup>3</sup>

He has depicted Śiva in a very pleasant as well as angry mood In one verse he intends to deceive Pārvatī and replies accordingly to her questions regarding the identity of the person on his head It is really the goddess Gangā, traditionally, the co-wife

1 कनकचन्द्रमय्याया कुक्षे कुतुक महत् ।

विषदेव द्योःरन्तयस्त्रिगच्छति मूर्धनि ॥ PV. 46

The significance is that it is very pleasant to the eye, and secondly, it remains long in the memory of the visitor Again, the verse is designed to contain the figure of speech Virodhābhasa

2 चञ्चदोमाञ्च वीचो निषय-कञ्चितैरङ्गक स्पन्दमान-

सातोभिलोचनाञ्जैमणितिमिरनिष यदुपदोधारिताभि ।

क्षाणी पीटे लुठद्विचिलुलित विकुरैर्मौलिमिये भजन्ति

धोमञ्जालप्य-पुष्प्यच्चरण-सरसिर्ज भाग्यवन्तस्त एव ॥

PV 38

3. स्फूर्जच्चक्षुश्चकोर-प्रमदनपटवो भक्त सम्पत्-समुदा-

मुच्चैरद्वयान्तधरण-तल सस्यदीप्त-तारा कुटुम्बाः ।

मूषास भूरि ताप प्रथमव यदुल-ध्वान्त-विच्छद-दक्षा

अन्य ज्वालासुलि त्वत् पद-कमान-नल प्रहृष्टचन्द्र विम्या ॥

PV. 37

of Pārvatī, but Śiva tries to explain away the questions of Pārvatī.<sup>1</sup> In the verse describing Śiva in his destructive mood, he is seen with one leg lifted up for the Tāṇḍava dance and Aparṇā clinging to his body in fear; the terrible sounds of his anklets are piercing the whole world as it were.<sup>2</sup> In the third verse he describes the neck of Śiva with its dazzling bluish colour resembling various dark objects such as the waves of the Yamunā, the bed of blue lotuses, etc. and earnestly prays for getting rid of all evils.<sup>3</sup>

Gaṇeśa has been praised in two of Akbariyya-Kālidāsa's verses collected by us. In one he is found in a very happy mood, and in the other, rather in a terrific

1. मौलौ किं नु मोक्ष मानिनि जलं किं वत्सम्भोरुहं  
किं लीलालसक-येषिका मधुकरी किं भ्रूलसा वीचिका ।  
किं नेत्रे शफरी किमु स्नयुगं प्रेक्षुद्-रथाङ्ग-द्वयं  
सायकामिति शोचयन् गिरि-सुतां गङ्गाधरः पालु मः ॥  
PV. 16

2. भृङ्गि-प्रस्तुत-गीति-मञ्जिम-मिलत्तज्जम्भुरी-भांकृति-  
स्फूर्जद्-हुंगुम-मञ्जु-नन्दि-मुरज-न्यस्तैक-हस्तोत्पलम् ।  
भङ्ग-त्रस्यदर्पणमाद्य-नटन-क्षिप्तैक-पादाम्बुजं  
प्रोचदुधधुरिका-भ्रष्टकृति-दलद्वन्द्वद्वयमोघं भजे ॥  
PV. 14

3. कालिन्दी-वीचि-पुञ्जैः कुवलय-विपिनैरिन्द्रनीलचन्द्राभिः  
शैवालैः कज्जलौघैरलि-तिमिर-भरैर्याल-जोमूत-जालैः ।  
कस्तूरी-कोकिलानां ततिभिरिव महाचाकचिन्त्य-प्रपञ्चै-  
स्त्रैलोक्यं पूरयन्ती यमयतु विपदः शाम्भवी कष्ट-नाला ॥

Lakṣmī and the poet offers his prayers for protection.<sup>1</sup> In his verse on Kṛṣṇa the poet prays to him for unflinching devotion alone; nothing else matters to him.<sup>2</sup>

We have only four verses of Akṣariya-Kālidāsa on nature which has a permanent bearing on the sentiment of Love. These verses might as well be termed Love-verses. Unfortunately, we have only one more Love-verse of the author—a verse on a separated ladylove. Out of the four verses on nature, two are devoted to the description of summer-wind. In one the summer-winds are stated to be the elephants of king Madana who are rushing on after roaming about on the outskirts of the golden mountains in the form of the breasts of the Ladies of Kārnāṭa, jumping in the Pampā Lake, scattering the pollens of the Mallī flowers—and followed by swarms of bees throughout.<sup>3</sup>

1. धम्मिल्लभीः किमास्ये किमु वदन्-रविः कण्ठ-सीमास कण्ठ-  
च्छाया वल्लोज-युग्मे किमु कुच-कलसी-कान्तयो मधुपदेरो ।  
दागित्यादि-कमेष्टोलसित-जलनिधेरिन्द्रियाः स्वरूपेः  
पान्तु प्रेम-प्रणाली-विलुलित-गतयः कंठभारेः कटाक्षाः ॥

PV, 34

2. घन-स्निग्ध-चक्षुः-कच-ग्रन्थि-नद-  
स्फुरत्-केकिपिच्छे ससचारु-गुच्छे ।  
मुसेन्दु-भ्रमद्गुह्यो-दृक्-चक्रे ।  
ययोदा-विद्योरे मनो मे रमेत ॥ PV, 35

3. कृत्वा काण्ठा-कान्ता-कुच-कनक-गिरि-प्रान्त-सञ्चार-लीलां  
भम्पामालास पम्पा-पयसि वनयुधि जित्त-महो-रञ्जकाः ।  
आकर्षन्तः परस्तात्तिगडमिव कल-ध्वान-पुष्पन्धयालीं  
घावन्त्येते मदान्धा मदन-नरपतेः सिन्धुरा गन्धवाहाः ॥

PV, 620=SSS, 340



The pleasant summer-winds towards the end of the day joyously passing through the Campaka forest and accumulating honey drops and consequently, slowing down its gait, are sufficiently capable of relieving people of all fatigue.<sup>1</sup>

The verse on Malaya-breeze attributes the nature of a boy to it and all the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted with reference to the Malaya-wind as well as a boy. The poet really describes the advent of the spring and chooses this happy metaphor for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

1. चलमान-वम्पक-वनान्तरोलुपन्मकरन्द-विन्दु-भर-मन्द-वक्षसाः ।  
अहरन्त तापमहरन्त-सम्भराः पवनाः पटीरवन-गन्ध-बन्धराः ॥

PV. 329

2. भृङ्गाली-कण्टमालास्फुटित-कमलिनी-धूलिभिर्भूषिताङ्गाः  
स्पन्दन्तश्चन्द्रकन्या-सङ्घर्ष-सहस्री-श्रीकरासार-सालाः ।  
अङ्गादङ्गं मज्जन्तो विकसित-विलसत्-वेतकी-मल्लिकार्जुनाः  
मोदन्ते मन्दमन्दं मलय-गिरि-दरीयर्जनो वात-पोषाः ॥

PV. 609

### Boys

- a. कण्टमाला :—wearing garlands of tigers' nails, etc.  
b. धूलिभिर्भूषिताङ्गा :—covered with dust  
c. श्रीकरासार-साला :—emitting saliva  
d. अङ्गादङ्गं मज्जन्त :—passing from one lap to the other

### Winds

- a. Wearing garlands in the form of bees  
b. Full of the pollens of lotuses  
c. Scattering tiny particles of water, etc.  
d. Passing through various sorts of flowers

In the verse devoted to moon-rise, the poet says that the evening is the time for the god of Love to proceed for the conquest of the world and accordingly, the ceremonial for the purpose is to be observed; a copper-plate, therefore, floats on the sea in the form of the setting sun and East, too, bears on her head a pitcher in the form of the moon.<sup>1</sup>

The pursuit of a horse is beautifully described by the poet. It stretches forth its head as it intends to measure the earth and its feet are raised up as it considers the sky as nothing but a stage to dance on.<sup>2</sup>

The poet has left us to the legacy of only one *Anyāpadeśa* or *Anyokti*. It is on the lotus. There is no

1. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-मङ्गलं चोत्पत्ती  
विशति जलधि-मध्ये साग्रपात्रीव भानुः ।  
हयमपि पुरदृत-प्रेयसी भूमिसंस्थं  
कलयमिव क्षयांशुं साधुमुत्तालसीति ॥

PV. 580

v, r. in SSS. 205A. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-काल-विज्ञापनाय ।

Floating copper-plates and holding pitchers on the head are parts of the auspicious rites observed as *Yātrā-maṅgala*.

2. इयती जगती कियती भविता  
नमिताननतामिति याति हयः ।  
वियदङ्गन-रिङ्गय-रङ्ग-विधौ  
परिवर्तितुमुत्क्रमतीव नभः ॥

PV, 126=SS. 124.

flower that can outdo the lotus by rivetting the attention of the bees even for a while.<sup>1</sup>

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is indeed a great Sanskrit poet. His verses are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every verse has some figure of speech or other in it, such as the metaphor including the Mālārūpaka, Utprekṣā, Atiśayòkti, śleṣa, and so on. Nowhere in his composition, is there any looseness. The style of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa reminds one of the excellent styles of his illustrious predecessor whose name he shares—though at a much later period. One is apt to think that his name Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is really a pen-name so designed as to please both Akbar as well as to suit his own capacity as a supposed rival of the best poet of Hindu India.

1.           दे मखि दे मासखि दे सखि  
              ॥ तादृशी कापि भवादृशीनाम् ।  
          खणं समाधाय मधु-मत्तं वा  
              निम्मारयन्मुञ्चिनी-वियोगम् ॥

PV. 732.

The *Rasika-Jivana* records दस्ताम्भोरद-यत्ने, etc. as a verse of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. But see KVS- p. 34. दस्ताम्भोरद-यत्ने, etc. ascribed to Kālidāsa in two MSS. of the SP.

## JAGANNĀTHA PAṆḌITARĀJA

*Court-poet of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and great admirer of Dara Shikoh (d. 1659).*

### *Personal history*

Jagannātha was the son of Perubhaṭṭa<sup>1</sup> or Perama-bhaṭṭa<sup>2</sup> and Lakṣmī of the village Mungundu in the Godāvārī district. He was a Tailaṅga brahmin<sup>3</sup> of the Veginada community.<sup>4</sup>

He was very fortunate in his training as a student, his father himself being the teacher. His father in his turn was the disciple of Jñānendra Bhikṣu in Vedānta, of Mahendra in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, of Khaṇḍadeva

1. *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*. 1. 3:—

पाषाणादपि धीयुषं स्वन्दते यस्य लीलया ।

तं वन्दे पेरुमहात्म्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महागुरुम् ॥

In commenting upon Lakṣmī Nāgeśa says, "लक्ष्मीति सत्-पत्नीनाम् ।"

2. Concluding verse (52) of the *Prāṇābharāṇa* (No. 53) is an interpolation:—

तेलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-सालितः

धीमत्-पेरुमहद्-सूनुनिशं विद्वल्लाटन्तपः ।

सन्तुष्टः कमताधिपस्य कवितामाकाशं तद्वर्णनं

धीमत्-परिदतराज-परिदत-जगन्नाथो व्यधासीदिदम् ॥

3. *Op. cit.*

4. See colophon to the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*.

in Pūrva mīmāṃsā and Śesavireśvara in the Mahābhāṣya <sup>1</sup> Śesavireśvara taught Jagannātha Panditarāja as well.

It is said that Jagannātha started a school at Jaipur. He as well as other Panditas of Jaipur were once challenged by a Kāzi to an open debate in matters concerning Islam. It was only Jagannātha who took up the challenge, studied the religious literature of the Moslems as much and as quickly as he could within the fixed date and defeated the Kāzi. This creditable performance had such a telling effect upon the ruler of Delhi that he at once invited Jagannātha to his court. Jagannātha accepted the same and a fresh chapter in his life's history began.

There is a tradition that he fell violently in love with a Muslim girl called Lavangī whom he married. Probably, he was unmarried when he came to the court of the ruler of Delhi <sup>2</sup> That he was much enamoured

1 Rasa-Gaṅgadhara, 1 2 —

श्रीमज्ज्ञानन्दभित्तोरधिगत-सकम्-महाविद्या-प्रपन्न

काद्यादीरुत्तपादीरपि गहनगिरी यो मेन्द्रादरीत् ।

देवादेवाध्यगोष्ट स्मरहर-नगरे शासनं जैमिनोष

शेषाष्ट-प्राप्त-शेषामस-भक्षितिरमृतं सव-विद्यापरो य ॥

2 Cp शीतातां इव सङ्कुचन्ति दिवसा नैवाम्बरं शयरो

शोभ सुषति किं यः००हुतभुक्-शोभं गतो भास्वर ।

स्वं चान्न हुताय-भात्रि हुये सीमन्तिनीनां गतो

मास्मार्कं वसनं न वा सुवतया कुत्र मजामो वयम् ॥

of this Muslim girl is evidenced by several verses attributed to him.<sup>1</sup>

Probably Jagannātha had a son by Lavangī whose loss he mourns in one of the verses of the Rasa-Gangādhara.<sup>2</sup> Jagannātha, probably, first came to Delhi during the rule of Jehangir to whom he refers in a verse of the Rasa-Gangādhara.<sup>3</sup>

Jagannātha himself states in the introductory part of his Āsaf-vilāsa that he got his title Panditarāja from emperor Shah Jehan. His work on Āsaf-khān, counsellor of Shah Jehan and brother of Nūrjāhān, manifestly shows his reverence for him and also for Rāya

1. यवनी रमणी विपद् घमनी कमनीयतमा नवनीत-समा ।  
उद्विह्वलि चयोऽमृत पूर्णमुखी स सुखी जगतीह यदङ्गता ॥  
यवनी नवनीत-कोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि नोयते कथञ्चित्  
अवनी-तलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी आधवनी विनोद-हेतु ॥  
न याचे गजालि न वा बाजिराजि न वित्तेषु चित्त मदीय कदाचित् ।  
इय छस्तनी भस्तक-न्यस्त-हस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गीद्वङ्गीकरोतु ॥

2. अपहाय सकल बान्धव-चिन्तामुद्रास्य गुरु कुल प्रणयम् ।  
हा तनय विनयशालिन् कथमिव पर-लोक-पथिकोऽसू ॥

P. 42, 5th Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed

3. श्यामं यशोपवीतं तव किमिति मयी सगमात् कुत्र जात  
सोऽयं शीतोऽंशु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जल कज्जलाफम् ।  
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षिति-रमण-रिपु क्षोणिभृत-पद्मलाक्षी  
सङ्गाक्षीणाश्रु धारा समुदित-सरितां सर्वत सगमेन ॥ (P. 703).

The full name of Jehangir was Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir.

Mukunda of Kashmir at whose instance he composed the same. The verse attributed to Jagannātha Panditarāja declaring that only two Īśvaras or Lords, either the Lord of Delhi or of the Universe, are to be approached for help, the rest being simply worthless from the point of view of real patronage<sup>1</sup>, would probably, refer to Shah Jahan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life at the court of Delhi.

In some MSS of his work Jagad ābharana there is a reference to his enjoyment of the patronage of Dara Shikoh (see below under the works of Jagannātha—Jagadābharana). Moreover, Dara Shikoh was murdered in 1659, only one year after the imprisonment of his father Shah Jahan.

The tradition is that Jagannātha Panditarāja left the court of Delhi in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh and came to Benaras where he was severely reprimanded by Appayya Dikṣita apparently for marrying a Muslim girl. This was most probably, only retaliating for Jagannātha's severe criticism of his work Citramīmāṃsā in the Citra mīmāṃsā khandana. Jagannātha, however, took the insult so terribly to heart that he is said to have committed suicide along with

1. दिल्लीधरो वा जगदीधरो वा मनोरथान् पुरविन्दु समर्थः ।

अभ्येर्नृपासोः पतिदोषमात्रं शाक्यं वा स्यात्पुत्रव्यायं वा स्यात् ॥

his beloved Lavangī in the holy water of the Ganges. There is a tradition that the Gangā-Laharī of Jagannātha was composed for this purpose, as he stepped down and down, he recited one after another the 53 verses of this stotra after which he and Lavangī were drowned.

But this incident must have taken place not immediately after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in the Śānta vilāsa, part IV of the Bhāmīnī vilāsa v 32, that after leaving Delhi, he resided at Muttra <sup>1</sup>

The third canto of the Bhāmīnī vilāsa viz the Karuna, apparently appears to have been composed after the demise of Jagannātha's partner in life. But really if the Karuna vilāsa as a part of the Bhāmīnī vilāsa were composed with the express intention of having ready illustrations for the Rasa Gangādhara as Nāgeśa says <sup>2</sup> no personal loss need be taken into consideration with re-

1. शास्त्राद्याकलितानि नित्य-विषय सर्वेऽपि संभाविता

दिल्लीवस्तुभ पाणि पल्लव-सले गीत नवीन यय ।

सम्प्रत्युज्ज्वलित वासन मधुपुरी मध्ये हरि सेव्यते

सर्व पण्डितराज राजि तिलकेनाकारि लोकाधिकम् ॥

2. Jagannātha says in the Rasa-Gangādhara v 6 —

निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणानुरूपं

काव्य मयाऽत्र निहितं न परस्य किञ्चित् ।

किं सेव्यते ह्यमनसा मनसाऽपि गन्ध

कस्तुरिका-जनन शक्ति-मृता-मृगेण ॥

Nāgeśa says, "काव्य भामिनीविलासाख्यम्" ।



gard to the composition of the verses. Moreover, as there is no evidence whatsoever that Jagannātha Panditarāja married a second time, the above supposition distinctly goes against the tradition that he and Lavaṅgi died together in the holy waters of the Ganges.

### *Date.*

The *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* contains a verse<sup>1</sup> which refers to Nurdin. Nurdin is really the forename of Nurdin Mahammad Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan. Most probably our poet came to the court of Delhi when Jahangir was the ruler. Internal evidence shows that Jagannātha Panditarāja enjoyed the full confidence and liberal patronage of Shah Jahan.<sup>2</sup> If 'Jagar' of the work

1. ग्याम यज्ञोपवीतं, etc., p. 703. NSP. 5th ed.

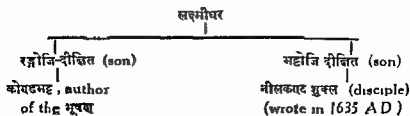
2. अथ सकल-श्लोक-विस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परम्पराधीन मानसेन, प्रतिदिनमुपदग्ध-गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक-विद्याविद्योत्तिष्ठान्त करण-कविभिरुपास्यमानेन, हृत्-सुगीहृत्-कलि-कासेन, कुमति-मृण-जाल-समाच्छादित-पेद-यन मार्ग-विलोचनाय समुदीपित-पराक-दहन-श्यासा-जालेन, मूर्तिमतेषु मध्यायासक रत्न-मन-प्रसादेन, द्विज कुल सेवा-देवाकि-यारुमन-कायेन, मायुर-कुल-समुद्गन्धुना रायमुद्गन्धेनादि-प्लेन, सार्वभौम-धीराद्वज्रा-प्रसादाधिगत-परिदत्तराज-पदवी-विराजितेन, सैल-प्र-बुधापतितेन, परिदत्त-जगन्नाथेनासक्त-विज्ञासाप्येयमाध्यायिका निरमोयत ।

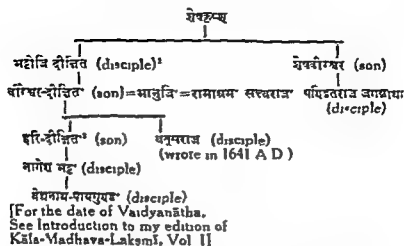
Introductory part of the *Āsaf-vilāsa*.

Again, the word 'दिहो-यजम' in v. 32 of the *Sānta vilāsa*. Part IV of the *Bhāmīnī-vilāsa*, most probably, refers to Shah Jahan.

Jagadabharna may be taken to refer to Dara Shikoh as some MSS show, Jagannātha Panditarāja may be supposed to have continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Raj till the murder of the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Therefore, our poet appears to have enjoyed the patronage of two Mughal emperors and one Mughal prince. It is only likely that Jagannātha was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature till the murder of the unfortunate Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (1659 A D) as a court poet of Delhi. Subsequently to his leaving the Royal court he resided at Muttra and compiled the Bhāminī vilasa and necessarily the Rasa Gangādhara if the word 'kāvyā' in v 6 of this work really refers to the Bhāminī vilasa as Nāgeśa says it does.

Other evidences also help the determination of the date of Jagannatha Panditarāja. Our poet is connected with the celebrated School of Grammarians headed by Bhattoji Dikṣita. His exact relationship is best seen in the following table :-





Nāgeśa Bhatta flourished towards the end of the 17th century and therefore the date assigned by us to Jagannātha Panditarāja who flourished two generations earlier must be about 50 years earlier still

In the Kula prabandha composed in the seventeenth century, which is now included in the Vamśa vithi of the Sāhitya vaibhava of Bhatta Mathurānātha Śāstrin (Bhatta Garden, Residency Road, Jaipur, Rajputana) it is stated that one Nārāyana who was a student of Jagannātha Panditarāja succumbed to death at an early life in the seventeenth century<sup>3</sup> This also helps the exact

1. Bhaṭṭojī's disciple Nilakanṭha Śukla composed a work in 1635 A D

2 There is a tradition that Hari-Dikṣita challenged Jagannātha Panditarāja in debate in which our poet first defeated his opponent but later on was himself defeated

3. सन्धा विद्या निखिला पद्मिन्दुराजजगन्नाथान् ।

नारायणन् देवादत्पायुः स्वपुरीमगमत् ॥

determination of the date of Jagannātha Panditarāja irrespective of the above evidences

Again, the Subhāsita hārāvālī of Hari Kavi preserves a verse of Jagannātha Panditarāja in which he praises one Gangādhara<sup>1</sup> Nāgeśa Bhatta refers to one Gangādhara as his guru in his commentary on the Rasa Gangādhara<sup>2</sup> It may be that these two Gangādharas were identical in which case Gangādhara must have taught Nāgeśa in his old age

It may further be added that the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhatta on Rasa Gangādhara was composed by the beginning of the eighteenth century Jagannātha himself severely criticised Appayya Dikṣita as a slavish imitator of earlier rhetoricians Appayya was probably alive up till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and was in any case, a senior contemporary of Jagannātha Haribhāskara, whose Vṛtta ratnākara tikā<sup>3</sup> was composed in 1676 A D includes in his Padyāmṛta taranginī two verses of Jagannātha The Padyāmṛta

- 1 वितयद्वा हेत्याद्यैरिवितत-वाक्यैरपि श्रुभि-  
र्न जेयोऽसौ विद्वज्जन सदसि गंगाधर सुप ।

The Lakṣmīlaharī of Jagannātha seems to refer to the same poet by means of pun on गङ्गाधर in v 3—' एतास्तं गायन्ति स्फुरित-सनु गंगाधर-मुखा ।'

2 नत्वा गङ्गाधर मर्म प्रकाशं वनुते गुरुम्, the opening line of the commentary

3 Bhandarkar, Reports 1877-91, p lxii and 1883-84, p 60

taranginī is dated at 1674 A D<sup>1</sup> and was composed only fifteen years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

From the above evidences we may come to the conclusion that the period of Jagannātha's literary activities continued from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to about 1660 A D

### *Works of Jagannātha Panditarāja*

A survey of the writings of Jagannātha Panditarāja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects—(1) Stotras such as those of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gangā and Yamunā, (2) Panegyrics of Prananārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa, Jagat-simha or Dara Shikoh and Āsaf, (3) Nature, e g the sun rise (see *Sudhā laharī* below), (4) Sanskrit Grammar such as *Praudha manoramā kuca mardini*, (5) Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e g the *Rasa Gangādhara*, a commentary on the *Kāvya prakāśa* and *Citra munāmsā-khandana*. Again, the *Bhāmīnī vilāsa* which was composed for the purpose of having ready illustrations for the *Rasa Gangādhara* is a monumental work. It contains, among many lyrical stanzas, a large number of Anyoktis which have been amply quoted by the Kosa-kāras in their anthologies.

Some accounts of the extant works of Jagannātha Panditarāja are given below.

1 See p 72 of my edition of the *Padyamṛta taranginī*.

1 *Amṛta labhāṁ*

The hymn of the Yamunā<sup>1</sup> in only eleven verses is meant for daily recitation during the bath<sup>2</sup> Here the poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the banks of the Yamunā as a mendicant (v 3) and prays to Kṛṣṇa for salvation

2 *Āsaf ulāsa*

This work is devoted to the praise of Nawab Āsaf Khān brother of Nur Jahan and minister of Shah Jahan It is being published for the first time as an Appendix to this work<sup>3</sup> As Āsaf Khan died in 1641 A D as is recorded in the chronogram *Zibhe afsos Āsaf Khan*, this work must have been composed before that date and after the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne in 1628 A D, as he is described as 'Sarvabhauma' in the work itself

The work deals with Shah Jahan's visit to Kashmir and Āsaf Khan's whole hearted endeavour to promote royal happiness No historical account about Shah Jahan or Āsaf Khan is found in it

1. Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Parab *Kavya mala*, Part I pp 99 101 Bombay 1886

Verse no 11 अथ पविट्टराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथ समया ।

स्तव कलिन्दनन्दिन्या निमस्रो निरमोषत ॥

2. एषं स्नान विधौ पठन्ति स्नाने ये नियमगृहीत-यता

स्तानामन्वित-संख्यं जन्म-जनितं पापं क्षयादुज्झति ॥ V. 10

3 The MS used for our edition belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, see P K Gode's Catalogue of Sansk MSS, Kavya volume.

### 3. *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, also called *Panditarāja-śataka* <sup>1</sup>

The work consists of four vilāsas, viz. Prastāvika vilāsa, Śṛṅgāra-vilāsa, Karuṇa-vilāsa and Śānta vilāsa. Whereas in some editions the total number of verses found are 129, 183, 19 and 45 in the four vilāsas respectively, in others, again, there are 101, 102, 19 and 32 or 33 verses. This great discrepancy in the number of verses in a comparatively recent book is, no doubt, puzzling. It shows, however, that the work enjoys great popularity. In all, 121 verses are left out in several editions. Out of these about 100 are found in the *Rasa-Gangādhara*, and therefore, there is no doubt that these 100 verses were composed by Jagannātha himself though it may be doubted whether the author himself selected them for inclusion in his *Bhāminī vilāsa*. The remaining 21 verses also bear the distinctive stamp of Jagannātha's poetic excellence and are, most probably, his own.

Nāgeśa Bhatta in his commentary on the *Rasa-Gangādhara* says that the *Bhāminī vilāsa* was composed

1 Greek ed. in 1845. Many Indian editions without commentaries since 1870. Ed. with commentary 'bhūṣaṇa' of Mahādeva in the *Grantha-ratna-mālā* 1890, with the commentary of Manirāma by Victor Henry, Paris, 1885, with the 'vyākhyā' by Yadunātha Tārākācārya Calcutta, Samskṛta Press, 1862 and with *Kāvya-marmā-prakāśa* by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmacandra Vaidya, Bombay, Bhārati Press, 1887.

earlier than the *Rasa Gaṅgādhara* with the object of having ready illustrations for his *Magnum opus* <sup>1</sup>

Jagannātha Panditarāja says that he compiled the *Bhāmīnī vilāsa* as a selection of his verses in order that nobody else could claim them as his own <sup>2</sup> But a comparative study of his *Bhāmīnī vilāsa* with the *Bhāva śataka*<sup>3</sup> of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana or the *Anyokṭi mukta-latā*<sup>4</sup> of Śambhu Mahākavi reveals that Jagannātha was indebted to both of them for his thought and imagery of a good many verses Śambhu Mahākavi was the court poet of king Harsa of Kashmir (1088-1100 A.D.) and flourished towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. And Rudra Nyāyapañcānana son of Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa of Bengal and brother of Viśva nātha Pañcanana Bhattacharya flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued his literary

1 See Nagasa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the sixth introductory verse of the *Rasa Gaṅgādhara*

2 At the end of the last part of the *Bhāmīnī vilāsa*, the poet says —

दुर्बुद्धा आर-जन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया ।

मदीय-यद्यखानां मञ्जुषेया कृता मया ॥

3 Cp *Bhāmīnī vilāsa*, 1 1 with *Bhāva vilāsa*, 140 *Bhāmīnī vilāsa* 9 with *Bhāva vilāsa* 41 and 47 of the former with 26 of the latter, etc

4 Cp *Bhāmīnī vilāsa*, 1 2 with *Anyokṭi mukta-latā*, 14, *Bhāmīnī vilāsa* 1, 19 with AM 72 BV, 20 with AM 26, BV 47 with AM 12 and so on



activities during the first half of the seventeenth century'. His Bhāva śataka was composed at the instance of Bhāvasimha son of Manasimha<sup>2</sup>

The Prastāvika vilāsa is really a collection of Anyoktis. This vilāsa is also found printed under the title Anyokty ullasa with a Malayalam metrical version by M N Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstrin<sup>3</sup>

The *Anyoktis* here are all grand in conception as well as expression. The Padyāmṛta taranginī which was composed a few years after the death of our poet Jagannātha quotes a few of these Anyoktis viz verses 1 5 7 and 14 of the Prastāvika vilāsa<sup>4</sup>. The first one dwells upon the majesty of the great who justly terrify the rivals take pity for those who are meek and humble and do not cause any harm to the lowliest. In verse no 5 the poet establishes that a respectable person must not be dishonoured. In the next verse the poet resorts to the figure of speech Ślesa for bringing out the fact that a poor man must not feel discontented or be despaired, love and appreciation of others merits are sure

1 See Introduction to my edition of the Bhramara dūta

2. Ed in the Kāvya malā

3 Reprinted from the Kavana kaumudī, [Kottakal], 1916

4 Padyāmṛta taranginī, verses 200 213, 252 and 194 respectively

to be his sustaining forces. In verse no 34, the proverb "Carrying coal to Newcastle" has been happily substantiated with an illustration

#### 4 *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*<sup>1</sup>

Our poet expressly states that the defects of the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* of Appayya Dikṣita thoroughly dealt with in the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* are collected in an abbreviated form in this work<sup>2</sup>. Appayya Dikṣita, another outstandingly great Sanskrit scholar of the South, was a sworn enemy of our poet and responsible for his unnatural death. Unfortunately the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* as well as the *Rasa Gaṅgādhara* are both incomplete, no definite reasons for which can be assigned at the present state of our knowledge

1 Both the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* have been edited in the *Kāvya-mālā*, No 38, Bombay, Nirṇaya-sāgar Press

2 सूक्ष्म विभाष्य मयका समुदीरिताना-  
मन्त्रव्यदीक्षित-कृताविह कृषणानाम् ।  
निर्मसुरो यदि समुद्धरणं विदध्या-  
हस्याहमुज्ज्वलमतेष्वरणीं वहामि ॥  
रस-गङ्गाधरे चित्र-मोर्मासाया मयोदिताः ।  
ये दोषास्तेऽयं संक्षिप्य कथ्यन्ते विदुषां मुदे ॥

The MS. from which the *Citra mīmāṃsā khaṇḍana* was edited in the *Kāvya-mālā* is dated 1652 A. D. and was, probably, written during the life-time of the author himself

5 *Gangā laharī*<sup>1</sup> also called *Piyusa laharī*<sup>2</sup> and  
*Gangamṛta laharī*

Several editors call Sadāśiva's commentary on the *Gangā laharī* as *Piyusa laharī*. The India Office Library possesses 45 editions of this work but none is a critical one. This important work badly needs a critical edition. The *Gangā laharī* of Jagannātha is a very sincere outburst of the feelings of a real devotee in 52 stanzas. The poet here remarks with child like simplicity that he cares little for any other gods and goddesses as he feels sure of the affection of the Ganges for him, if she now becomes careless about him who else would come to his rescue who else would care to console him?' Her holy water must put an end to his cycle of births.<sup>4</sup>

1. Printed in the *Bṛhat stotra muktā hara*, part II, stotra no 395 pp 401-409, Bombay, Gujrati Printing Press, 1916

2 इमा पीयूषलहरीं जगन्नाथेन निर्मिताम् ।

॥ पठेत्तस्य सद्यश्च जायन्ते जय-सम्पदः ॥ last verse

3 तवाऽऽस्तम्यादस्य स्फुरदलघु-गर्भश्च सहसा

मया सर्वोऽवश-सरणिमय नीता हरगया ॥

इदानीमौदास्य यदि भजसि मागीरयि तदा

मिराधारो हा रोदिमि कथय केवागिह पुर ॥६॥

4 मङ्गुलीला-सोललहरि सुलिताम्मोज-पटल

स्वपदपांशु पातय्द्रुणविसरत्कौकुम-रवि ।

हरस्त्री यद्योज सरदगङ्ग-जम्बाल जलिर्न

जसं ते जह्नुषं मम जगन्-जासं जययु ॥२१॥

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva may safely cease to function if only the Ganges is alert about the welfare of the world <sup>1</sup> The lovely big eyes or the ears are simply useless if they do not see her or hear the sweet sound of her sportive waves <sup>2</sup> Many people resort to many austerities, but the poet knows only one way out for avoiding all troubles <sup>3</sup>

### 6 Jagad-ābharana

From the introduction of Durgāprasāda to the Rasa Gangādhara, it is known that he came across a MS of the Jagadābharana which had the readings Dārā or some epithets such as दिक्षीपरावहन्म referring to him instead of प्राणनारायण. So it is certain that a MS of the poet's प्राणभरण in that form was found devoted to the praise

1. विषतां निःशङ्क निरवधि समर्पि विचिरहो  
 एतं शेषे शेषां हरिविरतं नृत्यतु हर ।  
 कृत प्रायश्चित्तैरसमय सपोदान-यजनै  
 सवित्री कामानां यदि जगति जागर्ति भवती ॥२४॥
2. विद्यालाम्ब्यामाम्ब्यां किमिह भवनाम्ब्यां शलु फलं  
 न याम्ब्यामालीढा परम-रमणीया तव तनु ।  
 अयं हि म्यङ्कारो जननि मनुजस्य ध्वज्यायो  
 र्ययोर्नान्तर्यामिस्तव सहस्रिणीस्ता कलकल ॥२५॥
3. यत्पन्त्येके देवान् कठिनतर-सेवास्तादृशे  
 दिताम-भ्यासता यम नियम-रक्ता कतिपये ।  
 अहं तु स्वप्नाम-स्मरश्च-घृतकामस्त्रिपथो  
 जगन्मासं आमे जननि नृश-आप्तेन सहस्रम् ॥२६॥

of Dārā Shikoh The late lamented S. M. Paranjape, however, says in his edition of the Bhāminī-vilāsa that he came across a MS of the Jagadābharana which had the concluding verse and the colophon as follows —

तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-सालिल

श्रीमत्पेरम-मह-सुतुरनिधं विद्वत्सुताटन्तप ।

श्रीराधाकलिकर्णनन्दन-जगत्सिंह-प्रभोर्वर्णन

श्रीमत्-परिहतराय-सत्कवि-जगन्नाथो ज्यवानीदिदम् ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय पद वाक्य प्रमाण-पारावारीण तैलङ्ग-कुलावतस-श्रीपेरम-महसुरेस्तनयेन विनिर्मितं जगदाभरणाख्यं जगत्सिंह-वर्णनम् ॥

Jagatsimha, son of Karnasimha, was the Rānā of Udaipur and reigned from 1628-1654 A D : Chronologically, there is no difficulty in the poet's composing the work in praise of Dārā Shikoh or Jagatsimha, and as it was he, who praised दिल्लीश्वर as जगदीश्वर,<sup>1</sup> one cannot be sure to whose praise the work was really devoted by the poet himself

### 7 *Karunā-lahari*, also called *Viṣṇu-lahari*

In some MSS the name *Karunā-lahari* is replaced by *Viṣṇu-lahari* <sup>2</sup> It is a hymn of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in 60

1 दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।

अन्यैर्नृपास्तैः परिदीयमानं शाक्यं वा स्यादुत्रयाय वा स्यात् ॥

2. Ed. in *Kāvya mālā*, part II by Pandit Durgāprasāda and Kāśīnāth Pandurāṅga Parab pp 55 61 see fn. 2, p. 55, *Kāvya mālā* 2

verses and is outstandingly lyrical throughout. The poet, as is clear from his other writings as well, was most religiously minded and in this hymn he declares that he cares for nothing else than the Lord.<sup>1</sup> A child falling into a pit is saved even by a passerby; the poet fallen into the sea must be saved by the father, the Lord.<sup>2</sup> The mind of the poet, a *çakora* in quest of moonbeams, is terribly scorched by the wild fire of the forest of Universe; the face-moon of the Lord must now save it by the award of what it so badly needs.<sup>3</sup>

### 8. *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭikā*.

No MS. of this work could be availed of. Stein notices one MS. in his Catalogue of Sans. MSS. belonging to Raghunath Temple Library in Kashmir and Jammu (60. 269. 1-2).

1. एदङ्गि फुल्लाम्बुज-मध्य-निर्गलम्बरन्द-निःस्यन्द-मितान्त-सम्पदः ।  
मनोमिलिन्दो मम मुक्त-वापसस्त्वदन्यमीषान् नृणाम् मन्यते ॥ verse 4.
2. अपि गर्त-मुखे गतः शिशुः पयिकेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।  
जनकेन पतन् भवार्णवे ॥ निवार्यो भवता कथं विमो ॥ verse 26.
3. विद्याल-विषयाटवी-वलय-सप्त-दशानल-  
प्रसूत्वर-शिलावली विकलित मदीयं मनः ।  
अमन्द-मिलदिन्दिरे निखिल-माधुरी-मन्दिरे  
मुकुन्द-मुल-चन्दिरे विशिष्टं शकोरायताम् ॥ verse 59.

9 *Laksmī laharī*<sup>1</sup>

The Laksmī laharī consists of 41 verses in Śikharinī metre and is a hymn of the goddess Laksmī. The poet prays to her for removing all his sins and for her kindness to him. He considers it superfluous that in a hand that is matchless in fragrance as well as tenderness adored by all poets, a lotus should bloom again, it is from this that the well known figure of speech Simile of the kāvyaś originated<sup>2</sup>. The necklace of the goddess that represents the assemblage of all the beauties in the world and puts to an end all the troubles of the devotees should find out the means of the poet's salvation<sup>3</sup>.

10 *Manoramā kuca mardana*<sup>4</sup>

[also called Praudha manoramā<sup>5</sup>]

This work that has not as yet been published is

1 Published in the Kavya malā, part II pp 104, 111

2 अस्तस्य सौरभ्यं कविकुल-नमस्या रचिता  
तथापि त्वदस्ते निवसदरविन्द विकसितम् ।  
कलापे काव्यानां प्रकृति-कमनीय-स्तुतिविधौ  
गुणोत्कर्षापान प्रयत्नमुपमान समजनि ॥ verse 25

3 समाहार भीष्मं विरचितविहारो हरिदृषां  
परीहारो मत्त-प्रमत्त भव सन्ताप सरसो ।  
प्रहार सर्वोत्तमपि च विपदां विष्णुदयिते  
ममोद्धारोपायं तव सपदि हारो विमृशतु ॥ verse 27

4 List of MSS belonging to Pt Radhakrishna of Lahore, 9 : Classified index to the Sans MSS, in the Palace at Tanjore by Burnell, London, 1880 40b, Lists of Sans MSS in Private Libraries of Southern India by Gustav Oppert, MSS 4339 and 4499, etc

devoted to a scathing criticism of Manoramā [Praudha-manoramā], Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī.

### 11. *Prāṇābharāṇa*.

The poet composed this panegyric in 53 verses for expressing his heart-felt delight on hearing the verses of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, king of Kāmarūpa.<sup>3</sup> He highly praises Prāṇanārāyaṇa for his vast learning, particularly in verses 16 and 50. There is a ṭippaṇa on this work composed by the poet himself for bringing out the rhetorical excellence of each verse. Every stanza is designed to be an excellent example of one or more rhetorical figures of speech. Grand indeed is the verse (no. 52) containing a pun on the word 'Vāmā'<sup>4</sup> and the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted both with reference to the enemies of the king as well as his wife. By means of a pun on the word 'Arjuna'<sup>4</sup> the poet

1. Ed. in the *Kāvya-māla*, Part I\* pp. 79-90.

2. See the last verse (no. 52). No. 53 is an interpolation. The name of the king is given in verse no. 5. His designation कामरूपेश्वर is given in verses 2, 15 and 22.

3. आवक्षास्यलकाग्रिरस्यसितमां चोर्ल रसाकाङ्क्षया  
लङ्काया वधतां तनोषि कुरुष्व जङ्घा-ललाट-क्षतम् ।  
प्रत्यङ्गं परिमर्द-निर्दयमहो चेतः समालम्बसे  
यामानां विषये नृपेन्द्र भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम् ॥ Verse 7.

4. अगारे खलु संसारे विधिनैकोऽर्जुनः कुतः ।  
कीर्त्या निर्मलया भूष त्वया सर्वेऽर्जुनाः शृताः ॥ Verse 43.



charmingly describes the fame of the king extending all over the world<sup>1</sup>

The MS of the *Prānābharana* belonging to the Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library (no 3828) gives the name of the poet's father as Raghunātha Bhatta and has the reading 'Kamalādhīpasya' instead of 'Kamatādhīpasya' in verse 53. Again, at the end of this MS there is a long prose passage which is not found in the printed edition

### 12 *Rasa-Gangādhara*

Jagannātha Panditarāja was not only a great poet but also one of the best rhetoricians India has ever produced. The *Rasa Gangādhara* of Jagannātha Panditarāja is one of the best rhetorical works of India from every point of view, viz., clarity of expression, superb judgment, depth of insight, wide range of learning and so on. All the examples of the work are Jagannātha's own composition.

Unfortunately the work is available in an incomplete form, breaking off in the middle of the *Uttara alamkāra*. No definite reason for its incompleteness is known. His *Citra mīmāṃsā khandana* shows that it was composed after the *Rasa Gangādhara* and one would naturally think that Jagannātha Panditarāja really completed the work,

1, गगने चन्द्रिकायन्ते हिमायन्ते हिमाचले ।  
पृथिव्यां सागरायन्ते भूपाल तव कीर्तय ॥ Verse 48

though the remaining portion of it is not available to-day even in MS form Or it may be that in his anxiety to oppose vehemently his greatest rival Appayya Dīksita he really undertook the work °khandana even before the *Rasa Gangādhara* was completed The tradition that the learned scholar courted death along with his wife Lavangī owing to the deliberate insult meted out by Appayya Dīksita probably furnishes a clue as to why both the *Rasa Gangādhara* and *Citra mīmāṃsā khandana* are found incomplete

### 13 *Sudhā laharī* <sup>1</sup>

The *Sudhā laharī* presents a grand description of sun rise in 30 verses in the metre *Sragdharā* The Sun rising in the East from the Udayagiri causes immense delight to all—particularly, to the lotus It is the best healer of all diseases and inspirer to all devotees Its rays shooting through trees and falling on the earth appear to young parrots like sticks and they therefore, try to put their legs on them the dew drops on leaves mixed with them resemble the pomegranate seeds in order to eat which they open their beaks <sup>2</sup> The Sun is the son of

1. Ed in the *Kavya mala*, Part I pp 16 22

2 निर्मिष हमारहाणामतिघनमुदरं येषु गोत्रं गतेषु

द्राघिष्ठ स्वर्णदण्ड-भ्रमभृतमनस संनिधिरसन्ति पादान् ।

य संभिन्ने दलाप्र प्रवस हिमकण्ठे दाहिमी-बीजपुदपा

षञ्ज-शास्त्रस्थमश्नन्ति च शुक्रशिखस्तोऽद्यपि पान्ति भागो ॥५॥

Indra by the Eastern horizon as it were and therefore, it appears as though the birth rites are performed in the morning<sup>1</sup> The drops of water offered as oblation to the Sun appear like so many jewels in course of their fall to the ground<sup>2</sup> The Sun is ever merciful to all men inasmuch as it seeks the aid of the Fire god for their protection during its absence at night<sup>3</sup>

#### 14 *Yamunā varnana, a prose work*

No complete MS of it is as yet traced Only two quotations from it are preserved for us in the *Rasa Gangādhara*<sup>4</sup>

Jagannātha Panditarāja flourished at a time when even the vernacular poets were excessively fond of introducing alliteration in composition Several Hindi verses of Vihārīn and Sanskrit verses of Jagannātha Panditarāja are very much alike in style as well as thought There are traces of the influence of his age upon Jagannātha Panditarāja, e g it was customary among aristo

1. See v. 8, क्रीलाले कुङ्कुमानो, etc

2. See v 13, अन्तर्नीरं नदीनां etc

3. निर्वात्यन्तःसमुद्रं सकलमपि वृथा भारमाधाय बद्धा-

बद्धायाह्वामधीश स भवतु भवता भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥२३॥

4. Nirmaya-Sāgara ed., p 21, “तनय-जैनाक-गोरेण लम्बीकृत-जलधि-जठर प्रविष्ट हिमगिरि-भुजायमानाया भगवत्या सागरीरण्या सखी”, p 159 “रवि-कुल प्रीतिमावहन्ती नर विकुलप्रीतिमावहति । अवारित प्रवाहा एवारित प्रवाहा ।”

crats during Mughal rule to maintain a couple of pigeons. There is a verse in the *Rasa Gangādhara* which refers to a pair of these love birds.<sup>1</sup>

Jagannātha Panditarāja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit, if not the very greatest. If he could have completed the *Rasa Gangādhara*, he would have undoubtedly eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India. It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality should have faced such a sad end of life. He was a great poet as well as a good prose-writer. It may be taken for granted that his *Kāvya-prakāśa* *tīkā* bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as the *Rasa Gangādhara* does. It is a great pity that such an important work should still be known in name only. We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at the earliest opportunity. It may also be presumed that the work of our Panditarāja

1 Cp e.g.,

नीलाश्वलेन सवृत्तमाननमाभाति हरिणनयनाया ।

प्रतिबिम्बित इव यमुना-गमीर-नीरान्तरेष्वाङ्क ॥ P. 258 of RG

with Vihārīn's verse —

दिव्यो ह्यवीलो मुह ससे नीले श्वाचलचौर ।

मनो कलानिधि मलमले कालिन्दीके नीर ॥

निरुज्य यान्तीं तरसा कपोतीं कूञ्जतृकपोतस्य पुरो वदाने ।

मयि स्मिताद् वदनारविन्दं सा मन्दमन्दं नमयांश्चमूव ॥

on Sanskrit Grammar, the *Monoramā kuca mardana*, would be also a work of outstanding merit. Trained in the same school as that of *Bhattoji Dikṣita* and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of *Vireśvara*, son of *Seśakṛṣṇa Bhattoji* s guru—*Jagannātha Panditarāja* was eminently fit for this critical work. *Jagannātha* s panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various deities are also quite up to the standard of the author of the *Rasa Gangādhara*.

## SEVERAL OTHER SANSKRIT POETS PATRONISED BY MUSLIM RULERS

Amṛtadatta was the court poet of Shahabuddin who severely threatened Mirāsāha planning for the invasion of Kashmir<sup>1</sup> Shahabuddin must have flourished in or before the twelfth century when Śrīdharadāsa author of the *Sadukti karnāmṛta* adorned the court of Lakṣmanasena as is evident from the fact that one of the verses of Amṛtadatta is quoted in the *Sadukti karnāmṛta*<sup>2</sup> This verse and several other verses<sup>3</sup> quoted

1 Verse 608 and of the *Subhāṣitavalī* : —

काश्मीरागन्तुकामस्य भीरुपाहाख्य भूपते ।

शाहाबुद्दीन भूमीन्द्र प्राहियोदिति सेखकम् ॥

किमेवमविशङ्कितं शिशु-कुरङ्ग लोल कम

परिक्रमिषुमीहसे विरम नैव शून्यं वनम् ।

स्थितोऽग्न गजयूथं नाथ-मथनोच्छलोच्छ्रोक्षित

च्छटा पटल भासरोत्कट-सटा भर केसरी ॥ मा० अमृतदत्तस्य

2 II 20 3 p 81 Lahore ed, उत्तराग्रय कान्ताना etc

3 Verses of Amṛtadatta quoted in the SSV

No		Subjects
805	अत्यन्तशीतलतया छमग०	[वृत्तान्योक्तिः]
11	2455 : अपूषय धनुर्विद्या	[चाटूक्तिः]
,	429 अमरैरमृतं न पीत	[दुजन निन्दा]
,	2456 : अमी पान करम्भाभा	[चाटूक्तिः]

in the Subhasitavali are not found anywhere else Two of his verses are found in the Subhasitavali as well as the Suktimuktavali of Jalhana <sup>1</sup>

		Subjects
No 2454	आहते तव नि साद्ये	[वाटुक्ति]
50	उद्धुस्त दन्व०	[आशीवष]
, 949	एव चेद्विधिना कृत	[मर]
, 72	कर जालमपूर०	[आशीवष]
, 148	कवीना महत्तं	[कवि-काव्य प्रशंसा]
, 609	किमेवमविशङ्कित	[सिद्धान्त्याक्ति]
, 940	कि पान्थ निमग्न०	[मर]
, 2457	कीर्तिस्ते जात०	[वाटुक्ति]
, 2291	कृष्य क्रीडितवान् गामि	[हास्यम्]
, 156	जीवित इव कण्ठगत सूते	[कवि-काव्य प्रशंसा]
1030	त्रैलोक्योपकृति०	[विन्यक्त्यासिनी]
, 2458	हुनासि स्वामन्वत	[वाटुक्ति]
, 989	इषी क दुग्तिहरा भगिनी	[पेनाक]
, 853	न पालयति मर्यादा	[समुद्र]
796	फल-कुष्ठम किसलयोज्ज्वल०	[शून]
, 34	मदमयमदमयदुरग	[आशीवष]
966	मृदु-सुभाग परिकररुषो	[कामदष]
, 73	मुष्माकमन्वर मया	[आशीवष]
, 2477	सकृपाया द्विषा	[वाटुक्ति]
, 718	समुद्रिरसि वाच कि	[कोकिलान्योक्ति]
, 2453	सरस्वती स्थिता धक्त	[वाटुक्ति]
, 2574	सौभाग्यस्य समपदान	[ " ]

1 SSV 1032, कीर्त्यं ज्ञान्ति-प्रकारस्तव etc

Suktimuktavali p 61 v 6

1143 भक्ति-ग्रह विलोकन०, etc

Suktimuktavali p 27 v 64

This second verse has been quoted by Mammata also in his Kavya prakasa

Amṛtadatta is a good poet. Some of his verses are really enjoyable. Thus in censuring the wicked, he says that neither the nectar was drunk by the gods, nor the poison by Śiva but they persist still in the world in the honeyed speech and the heart of the wicked respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Again censuring the desert, the poet says he censures it not because it cannot be of any service to anybody but because it deceives the thirsty people by deluding them through mirage.<sup>2</sup>

In his verse on the sentiment of Laughter, Lakṣmī is said to be fond of the dull-witted (go-buddhi) because her husband used to play with the cows (go-s). As a chaste lady, she is intensely devoted to those who have some semblance with the favourites of her husband.<sup>3</sup> This refers to the traditional enmity between the two co-wives Lakṣmī, the goddess of Fortune and Sarasvatī,

1. अमरैरमृतं न पीतमन्धेनं च हालाहलमुत्तव्यं हरेषु ।

विधिना निहितं खलस्य वाचि द्वयमेतद्दहिरेकमन्तरन्यतु ॥

मा० अमृतदत्तस्य ॥ SSV. 429,

2. एषं चेद्विधिना कृतोऽन्युपकृतौ कस्याञ्चिदप्युत्तमः

कामं मोपकृत्यास्ततस्तव मरो वाच्यं न धीरो भव ।

किन्त्वारान्मृगतृष्णयोपजनयन्नभोमुवां वञ्चनां

प्रेम्णाकर्षसि तर्ष-मूर्छित-धियोऽप्यन्यानतः शोच्यसे ॥ SSV. 949

3. कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोमिरिति गो-तुल्य-बुद्धिषु ।

पक्षपातवती लक्ष्मीरहो देवी पतिव्रता ॥ SSV. 2291.



the goddess of Learning, Laksmi is said to favour the dull witted while scholars are destined to suffer from poverty. It is not improbable that the verse has a personal significance.

In his verse on the sea he says the sea may at times transgress its coastal limit (*maryāda*) but never violates the self imposed rule (*maryādā*) that it would not be of any service to the thirsty.<sup>1</sup> In the verse भक्ति प्रह्व विलोकन etc. he exhibits his skill in intellectual exercises. He uses all the adjectives to *Netre* (neuter dual) and *tanuh* (feminine singular) as well as the verb in such a way that they qualify both *Netre* and *tanuh* without any alteration in form —

भक्ति-प्रह्व-विलोकन प्रणयिनी नीलोत्पल-स्पर्धिनी  
ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधि-निरसैर्नीतिहित प्राप्तये ।  
सावयस्य महानिधी रसिकता लक्ष्मीदृशास्तन्वती  
युष्माकं कुरुता भवार्ति-शमन नेत्रे तनुवां हरे ॥ SSV. 43

In this verse the poet prays that either the eyes of Hari or his body may remove all the sorrows of the people due to the cycle of births. From the available verses however, Amṛtadatta does not seem to have possessed a very fertile imagination and novelty of thought. His verses are rather stereotyped.

1 न वासयति मर्यादां बिलाख्यामम्बुधिस्तथा ।  
नृभ्यस्तां मोक्षार्थेभ्यमितोमामपरी यथा ॥ SSV. 853.

## PUNDARĪKA VITTHALA

Pundarika mainly wrote on Music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A D at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Burhan's father and grand father were Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan respectively. Subsequently Pundarika came to the court of Mādhavasīmha of the Kacchapa dynasty, son of Bhagavantadāsa and grandson of Bhānu and composed his Rāga mañjarī at his instance. Pundarika was a favourite of Akbar as well.

As the Rāga mālā of the same author is dated Śaka 1498 (1576 A D), Pundarika must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A D<sup>1</sup>.

## HARINĀRAYANA MISRA

The Padya venī preserves two verses by this poet in one of which he praises Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A D.) and therefore, he flourished about three hundred years ago. The last line of this verse presents some difficulty in sense, probably, the readings of both the MSS. are corrupt, still, the verse<sup>2</sup> is a good one.

1. Bhandarkar's Reports, 1884-87, No 1026

2. भूम्नमौलि तदीयु, etc PV. 144=SS. 138 For the complete verse, See Supplement : Shah Jahan.

## VAMSIDHARA MISRA

The Padyāmṛta taranginī preserves one verse of Vamśidhara Miśra who was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus in one verse Jagannātha Panditarāja favourite poet of Shah Jahan says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vamśidhara Miśra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahādeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he not Jagannātha Panditarāja who as a favourite of Durgā (the queen) is really the Lion and is capable of vanquishing all others.<sup>1</sup>

1 Padyāmṛta taranginī v 200 p 49.—

दिगन्ते अयन्ते मद-मलिन-मदहा करदिन  
करिष्य कारुषाभ्युदमम शीमाः शत्रु शृगा ।  
इदानीं लोकेऽस्मिन्ननुम दिग्वानी पुनरयं  
मलानीं पादिहरयं प्रकृत्यु कस्मिन्मृगानि ॥  
पविहाराग्रम्य ॥

O; cit., v 201 p. 49 :—

दिग्वानी प्रतिदिदि प्रयमनीं जाल्यैव जाल्यनीं  
ममाम्य-अनु विजयोऽयं कृत्यो गौरीय गौरीय ।  
विजालेनिकर्ष करोनु कृत्य नाम प्रियोको लये  
करोकाल-अनु-अनी-कृत्यो गिताः म कृत्यो ॥  
वहोपर मिष्टम्य ॥

Commenting on the second verse, Jayakāma author of Sopāna, commentary of the Padyāmṛta taranginī of his father Hanubhāsaka, says :—

“कृत्यो-अनु-अनी-कृत्यो दिग्वानी-अनु-अनी-कृत्योः गौरीय वहोपर-नामा

## CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his *Rasi kalpa druma* for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan Aurangzib's maternal uncle and General. Unfortunately, this valuable work has not as yet been published.<sup>1</sup> It was written in Samvat 1745 or 1689 A D (वाणाराधिराहाइ वैशाखे पूर्णिमाशुभे) i.e. the 31st year of Ālamgir's reign. Herein he gives the genealogy of his patron —

Itamāddoula  
|  
Asak Khān  
|  
Shayasta Khān<sup>2</sup>

कविपनाभ्यापदपद्येन प्रत्युत्तरमदानुपम्यम्यति दिवनागा इति । यदि कृष्णे गौरीपति-नाम्यन्नेन विप्रस सम्भाव्यते तथा मय्यपि क्यटेकाल-मुदुस्विनी-सम्बन्धन न तुल्य एव, परन्तु कृष्णे जाति-हृत्वा विप्रस तमावना नैव प्राप्नुमिरेति उपनयसाह क्यटेकाल इत्यादिना ॥

1 Ms belongs to the Ulwar Maharaja Mss Library, see Peter Peterson's Catalogue of Sansk Mss, No 1067

2 आद्य शयमहीमुखी प्रतिभट-अशास्त्र-धमपुत्री

राजधान-नवति-वेदिन भुज-अस्त्र-द्वयः शर्य ।

अष्टाष्ट करि कर्मात्तासज-अद्वय-प्रतापानमः

इमांशुमौलि-अपातिनाहि-इलमाहीयेनिनामाऽभयः ॥२॥

प्रभुवन जल-गीताहाम पाद प्रभाव

अरय कमप-अशोभारिनामेक-नाह ।

अत्र-न करि-अशोभारिनामेक-नाह

उपनयसाह नाह-अशोभारिनामेक-नाह ॥३॥

This work consists of Caturbhuja's verses as well as those of other poets viz Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyana, Kavindra, Kuñjakutira Kulapati, Kṛṣṇānanda Miśra Gadādhara, Gaudayādava King Jaganmani(?) Dhakkā rāva, Daśāvadhāna, Dhanadeva, Navina Kavindra, Nāthamiśra, Pañcānana, Paraśurāma, Bhārati-Kavi Bhūpati-Miśra, Mandana, Matī, Mahāmanusya Mohana Miśra, Raghupati, Rantideva, Rāmacandra Sarasvatī, Rāmarāma, Ruci, Vasanta, Vānīrasāla, Vāhinīpati, Viśvambhara, Vidyānidhi, *Shayasta Khan*, Samjayā(?), Kavirāja, Sarvadasa, Svasthāna Miśra, Hari-pati Bhatta and Harindra Besides these, the verses of three women poets have also been quoted, viz Madhura valī, Lakhyā and Vidyā The pratikas of their verses are given below. —

यहानन्तु जगत्प्रसिद्धमभद्राङ्गानि यथाचका

राजान् सुलतानशाह-सदृशा ये चापरे मानिन ।

यद्गुत्याश्च नृपा नृपास्त्वनुचरा यस्य प्रतापो रवि-

शम्भो यस्य यथोऽभ्युदेत्यसक-खानासौदृश्यं सोऽहृत ॥७॥

यस्ति स्वस्तिकर समस्त-जगती-वास्तव्य-लोकस्य यो

ध्वस्ताग्रस्त सपत्न मस्तरु-भरो सत्प्रसादतिवास्तोष्पति ।

यस्त स्तुन्य-यथा निरस्त-विमिर-स्तोमो मनस्तस्तत-

यास्ताक्षान-नृपो विहस्त-मतिमृष्टस्त्रास्त्र-यास्त्रार्थये ॥८॥

जानामि दानाव सुवर्णशेर्षं स्तवाय सायद्वचनानि येषा ।

शायस्त-खानस्य यद्य-प्रताप-साम्प्रदाय सोम-यम्बो मयज्ज ॥९॥

तस्यानुरज्जनायेष ग्रन्थ भव रसार्त्तकम् ।

चतुर्भुजो रचयति स्वपद्यैश्च परैरपि ॥

1. Madhuravallī—(i) रत्नाशोक कृशोदरी ; (ii) दुर्जन-विभव० ;  
 (iii) वधिरूपेव शु—, (iv) दिव्यचतुरह, (v) मित्र तत्र भवता ,  
 (vi) निःक्षिप्त कवरी , (vii) कुवलय-नयना

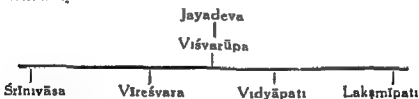
2. Lakhyā :—(i) अयमहो रजनी

3. Vidyā :—(i) अन्यास तास

There are sixty-five Prastāvas or chapters and one thousand verses in the Rasa-kalpa-druma.

### LAKṢMĪPATI

The lineage of the poet<sup>1</sup> as given by himself in the Ābduḷlāh-carita,<sup>2</sup> published as Vol I of Sanskrit History Series from the Prācyavani, Calcutta, 1948 is as follows :—



The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Śaka era i.e. 1721 A.D.

Lakṣmīpati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how mischief-mongers bring about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor, particularly, with the object of secur-

1. विश्व-विख्यात-भूदेवो जयदेवात्मजो महान् ।  
 विश्वरूपः स्मृतो लोके चत्वारस्तु सुता. स्मृताः ॥  
 तेषामाद्यः धीनिवासो नाम-मुख्य-गुणान्वितः ।  
 धीरेश्वरो द्वितीयस्तु विद्या-विनय-विक्रमी ॥  
 सहमीपतिश्चतुर्थस्तु तस्य या लिपि-मालिका ।  
 विदुषां चित्त-कमले धमरीवास्तु सा मृगम् ॥

2. Prepared from the only MS belonging to Calcutta Sanskrit College Library. No 2484

ing his own position against all the odds that might befall him <sup>1</sup>

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah <sup>2</sup>

1. See p 71, vv. 1798—1804

राजकायकरे द्वेषस्तनयस्यापि जायते ।  
 सद्राष्ट्राक्षस्य वैशुन्यं क्रियते निखिलैर्जने ॥  
 राजान्तिके सदुत्तया तु क्रियते तेन तत्पर ।  
 सहकार सह द्वित्वा निम्नस्याऽऽरोपश्च यथा ॥  
 क्रियते केनचित् तथा राजा तु शोचतमम् ।  
 मन्त्रिणां नाशयित्वा तु क्रियते सचिव पर ॥  
 कुञ्जरो न महामार्गं विना तिष्ठति वै यथा ।  
 तथा नृपोऽपि सचिव विना तिष्ठति न कश्चित् ॥  
 लोकोक्त्या मन्त्रिविष्वसो राजमि सर्व-भाबत ।  
 मन्यते पुरुषार्थस्तु निगरामणुमधेक ॥  
 अवदुलो यथा लोक-वाक्यतो भूमिजानिना ।  
 निगृहीतोऽस्ति लोकानामुक्तिस्तु तथा मम ॥  
 मत्स्वामिनाऽपि कर्तव्यो निग्रहस्त्विति जानता ।  
 यथा बिलितं चास्ति यत् किञ्चिदत्र तत्पुन ॥  
 हिन्दुकेश्यापि यवनैर्नितरा तु पदस्थिते ।  
 वाचनीयमिदं प्रीत्या स्व-पद-स्थैर्न हेतरे ।  
 लोकोक्त्या न भवि द्वेष कर्तव्यो मम नाशक ॥

2 Cf. the *Later Mughals* by William Irvine, ed. by (Sir) Jadunath Sarkar, vol I (1707-1720) and vol II (1721-1739). Calcutta, M. C. Sircar and Sons, 1922

This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and particularly Aurangzeb<sup>1</sup>

Laksmipati deals, in this campū Abdullācarita with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husain Ali Khan and Surphadi Saiyed Khan were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons, still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyad. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the

1. E g. p. 32, v. 897—

औरङ्गजेवमारम्य व्यवहारस्त्वयाऽस्ति ।

दृष्टोऽस्ति त्वद्विधैरेव मादृशमन्तिकेऽन्यहम् ।

P 33, v. 842—

दाराशाह निहत्साह-युक्तं कृत्वा रणाङ्गने ।

औरङ्गजेव-हस्तान्जे नय-सहमी समर्पिता ।

p. 35, v. 947—Mahammad Shah is here addressed औरङ्ग-  
जेवभूनाथ-कुलाम्मोधि-कलानिधे । येदिली मम जासाऽस्ति

For all references to these names See General Index



work that Laksmipati was a good Sanskrit scholar showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyāya<sup>1</sup> Jyotisa<sup>2</sup> and Tantra<sup>3</sup> He also profusely quotes many maxims verses from the Bhagavad gītā the Bhāgavata and so on He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well<sup>4</sup>

That Laksmipati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned it must be said to his credit that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised E g<sup>5</sup>

V 34 स नरो गोस्वनीं स्वह्ना करोति गोम्ब (گوشه)<sup>6</sup> मद्यणम् ।

V 36 यतस्ततो मया भुक्त्वा जहर (زهر)<sup>7</sup> स्वग्यते वपुः ।

V 66 गुणहमतरा (کدام)<sup>8</sup> स्वह्ना करोति स्वस्य दिल्लके (دل)<sup>9</sup> ।

कम्बक (کمبک)<sup>10</sup> सोऽपि ज्ञातव्य कुलत्रुम कुठारक ॥

V 35 अश्रामि च तयोर्दत्त पञ्जरस्थित-सेखर (شیر)<sup>11</sup> ।

V 69 स वावरहितो . जवाव (جواب)<sup>12</sup> किं प्रदास्यति ।

1 E g v 1313. प्रतिबन्धक-कासे तु न काय कारणादपि । आयते तु etc . p 104 घेन दण्ड-कार्येण, etc v 777

2 E g vv 436-463

3 V 716 also ref to Śaṭ cakra nirupāṇa

4 E g v 611—योषित्युत्तरयोर्वै निषिद्धमस्त वै यथा ।

5 Flesh (here beef) 6 poison

7 Without vice 8 In the soul

9 Like a lion 10 Sinner, unfortunate 11 Repy

- V. 73 वजोरेषु (وزیر) <sup>1</sup> च योषित्यु दुष्मणी (دشمنی) <sup>2</sup> यैविधीयते ।  
 V. 79 चन्द्रेण सुखरी (مشغری) <sup>3</sup> भायो सर्वदा वज्रि-वन्दिता ।  
 V. 83 शराब (شراب) <sup>4</sup> पानतो नष्ट-नरमे : (چشم) <sup>5</sup> नृपति-नन्दनैः ।  
 V. 84 मदान्यस्तु यथा पीलो (پیلو) <sup>6</sup> महामातस्य, etc.  
 V. 91 सत्कालमेव खवर (خبر) <sup>7</sup> ग्राहकेण सुयुधिना ।  
 V. 93 माहताव (مہتاب) <sup>8</sup> कर-स्पृष्टमम्भोजमिव दृश्यते ।  
 V. 92 शुवाह गोछलं (غسل) <sup>9</sup> कृत्वा...  
 V. 600 हिलालमन्तरा (هلال) <sup>10</sup> चन्द्र आशमाने (آسمان) <sup>11</sup> न विराजते ।  
 „ = फामोशी (فراموشی) <sup>12</sup> न विधातव्यो वरदास्तं <sup>13</sup> (برداشت) <sup>14</sup> विधीयताम् ।  
 V. 608 दलिल (دلایل) <sup>15</sup> मल्लि मे सत्य...

Lakṣmīpati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of the North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show.<sup>15</sup> He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

1. Vizir.

2. Enmity.

3. Jupiter.

4. Wine.

5. Eyes

6. Elephant.

7. News.

8. The moon.

9. Bath.

10. Crescent.

11. Sky.

12. Bond; evidence.

13. Anger.

14. Tolerance.

15. E.g. करोति मिरजुमला स्तुतिं यस्य तु सर्वदा ।

अवदुल्लेन कि तेन क्रियते ज्ञायते न सत् ॥ V. 735

पठाना रोहलाकाश्च मुगलाः सैयदास्तथा ।

येनाऽऽत्मीयाः कृताः सन्ति तेनाग्रे कि विधीयते ॥ V. 737.

दक्का-प्रदेशे यश्चास्ति भवतु-पूर्वज-सम्मतः ।

सोऽपि नायाति त्वां द्रष्टुम् अवदुल्ल-मयान्वितः ॥ V. 852.

## PROPAGATION OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Mediaeval ages the Mahomedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and Culture. In this respect the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great Epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A D) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his *padas*,<sup>1</sup> ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether Kṛttivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyana at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kamsanārāyana. Even though the latter might have ordered the same the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata purana was translated into Bengali by Malādhara Basu at the instance of Emperor Husain Shah. Kavindra Paramēśvara translated up to the Strī parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khan, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers congregated in his palace at Paragalpur in Feni for listening

1. In one of his *Padas*, Vidyāpati respectfully refers to another ruler of Bengal viz Sultan Ghiyasuddin II (1367-1373 A D)

to Kavindra's translation. His son Chuti Khān also encouraged Śnikara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered Śnikara to translate the *Aśvamedha Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskritic learning in various ways. Bābar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samargand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans.<sup>1</sup> Nothing much about Humāyūn's enterprise for the spread of Sanskritic learning or his encouragement to Sanskritic scholars is known. But his great son Akbar compensated enough for this lack if any on his father's part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqib Khān to translate the *Mahābhārata*. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqib night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Ābdul Qadir author of *Tārīkh-i-Badā'uni*, to assist Naqib in this

1 Erskine's *Memoirs of Babar*, pp. 50-51. Ulugh Beg Mirza entrusted the charge to Qazizadah Rumi, on his death, to Maulanā Ghiyasuddin Jamshid, and subsequently to Ibn' Ali Muhammad Koshji.

work Two *parvans* were translated within a few months Then Mulla Sheri and Sultān Hājī Thānes wari collaborated Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second Book Hājī who was engaged in revising Faizi's work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic This condensed version was named Razm Namah or Book of War<sup>1</sup> Subsequently it was highly decorated with pictures For the MS of this work Akbar spent £40 000 The preface to the work was written by Abul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles<sup>2</sup> By order of the emperor <sup>Abdur</sup> Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Rāmāyana in 1585 A D and completed the same in 1589 A D<sup>3</sup> At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Atharva veda On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaikh Faizi Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Hājī Ibrāhīm Sarhīndī<sup>4</sup>

1. Martin notices in his *Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey*, vol I, P 127 that the MS is at present at Jaipur

2. Gladwin's *Annals of Akbar*, p 85, and Tārikh-i Badaūnī, Elliot, V, p 537 538

3. Tārikh-i Badaūnī, Elliot V, p. 539

4. Lowe's *Muntakhabul Tawārikh*, Vol II p 216

Faizi translated into Persian the *Lilāvati* and Mukam-mal Khān Gujrātī the astronomical work *Tājak*. Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhbādī translated the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the *Rāja taranginī* as Maulānā Imāmuddin is the reputed translator of this work.<sup>1</sup> A Persian version of the *Harī varṣā* was made by Nasrullah Mustafā and of the *Pañcatantra* under the title *Kalilah Damnah* by Maulānā Husianī Wāiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title 'Ayār Dānish'.<sup>2</sup> The model of *Layalā* and *Majnūn* was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of *Nala* and *Damayanti* under the title *Nal Daman*.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor ordered *Abdul Qādir* to translate the *Dvātrīṃśat Puttalikā-Simhāsana*<sup>4</sup> with the help of a learned *Brāhmaṇa* under the title *Khurad Afzā Nāmāh*.<sup>5</sup> The *Gangādhara* and the *Maheśa Mahānanda* were translated under the general supervision of *Abul Fazl*.<sup>6</sup>

1. Elliot V, p. 478. Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, p. 2, and Blochmann's *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 106.

2. Gladwin's *Āin-i Akbarī*, p. 87.

3. Faizi's collection was in possession of 101 copies of this work, *Tārīkh-i Badāunī*. Elliot, V, p. 548.

4. Also called *Simhāsana dvātrīṃśat*, *Vikramārka carita*, *Dvātrīṃśat-puttalikā simhasana*, *Dvātrīṃśat puttalikā* and *Simhāsana dvātrīṃśikā*.

5. *Tārīkh-i Badāunī*, Elliot, V, pp. 483, 484 and 513.

6. Blochmann's *Āin-i Akbarī*, p. 104.

Durā Shikoh was a *great* Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large number of Brahmana Panditas hailing from all over India particularly, Benares and with their help he translated into Persian several Upanisads under the name *Sirr ul Akbar* or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sūfi called Mulla Shah and studied a lot about Sūfi ism. His labour was in vain, Sufi ism could not give the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This however he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upanisads.<sup>1</sup> On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu Culture, he always engraved the word *Prabhu* or Lord on his Diamond rings and other valuable articles. His *Sirr ul Akbar* was completed in 1657 A D.<sup>2</sup> He also translated the *Yoga Vasistha* though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed one being executed under the patronising care of his great grand father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sūfi ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A D. a very valuable work called the *Samudrasangama*<sup>3</sup> on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. In

1 *Alamgir Namah* Elliot, VII p 179

2 Anquetil Dupéron published a Latin translation of this work in 1801, see Constable's *Bermer*, ¶ 323 n

3 For a critical edition and translation of this work, See *Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature* vol III,

his grand work *Mukālamah* : Bābā Lāl Das he deals with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Bābā Lāl Dāsa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism

Dārā Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it Six of them are quoted in Caturbhujā's *Rasa kalpa druma* which is not as yet published and a MS of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS Library<sup>1</sup> The *Pratīkas* of the verses are given below. —

- |                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| i करान् प्रसार्य       | iv विशुद्ध-व्याजतो |
| ii वस्तुतः शुद्ध आत्मा | v नीरादेव जनुः     |
| iii गन्तव्यान्नाविक    | vi क्षाराम्बु मधु— |

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc not only cared whole heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit Literature

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskrit learning in another way as well That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into Vernaculars or Arabic and Persian The Hindu nobles and Chiefs followed the

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay, 1892, MS No 1067 For details. see pp 78-80



noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskrit learning prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskrit learning and two new important branches of Sanskrit studies, viz. the Navya-Smṛiti and the Navya Nyāya, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, Chieftains as well as Emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskrit learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit Literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses, etc.; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskrit learning and Culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernaculars; (5) by making great Sanskrit scholars translate well known Sanskrit works into Arabic, etc. The above are the evidences adduced in support of the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.

# SUPPLEMENT

## I

### TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON THE MAHOMEDAN PATRONS OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING.

PATRONS			NO. OF VERSES
1.	Akbar	...	5
2.	Emperor of Delhi	...	1
3.	Jahangir	...	1
4.	Muddafar Shah	...	1
5.	Nizam Shah	...	10
6.	Shah Jahan	...	2
7.	Sher Shah	...	1

# TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

## 1. AKBAR

### 1. [ अथ राज-वर्णनम् ]

शार्ङ्गलोऽसि प्रक्षेप्ये मदक्षत-करटी मांसल-रुक्म-कूटे

दो.स्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधरः केशरी मध्यदेशे ।

धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भू-युगे वात-दण्ड-

स्तत्सत्यं श्रीहुमायु कुलविलङ्घ-मणे मीपणाङ्गोपणोऽसि<sup>1</sup> ॥

॥ अक्षररीय-कालिदासस्य ॥

### [DESCRIPTION OF THE KING]

As regards your forearm, you are a tiger; as regards your shoulder, a fleshy intoxicated elephant; as regards your pillar-like arms, a noble elephant; as regards your voice, cloud; as regards your waist, a lion; in your sword, there is immense darkness; as regards your mind, you are an ocean; as regards your eye-brows, the staff of death; there is no doubt, O scion of the family of Humāyūn, that you are more terrible than the terrible one (Yama).

### 2. [ अथ खड्गः ]

हलाम्भोजालि-माला मल-शशि-हचिर-रयामलच्छाय शीघ्रो

वेजोऽग्नेर्धूम-धारा वितरण करिणो गण्ड-दान दण्डालो ।

वैरि<sup>2</sup>-धो वेष्टि-दण्डो सत्वणिम सरणो-माल-शैवाल-वल्ली

वेज्जलम्भोपरधोरक्षर-परणोवात-पाणौ इपाणौ<sup>3</sup> ॥

अक्षररीय-कालिदासस्य ।

1. PV. 53.

2. V.r. परभी०

3. P.T. 69=PV. 135=PR. 21. 37

The sword shines in the hand of Emperor Akbar (as it were) like a swarm of bees on the hand-lotus, the agreeable and dark shade of the moon-like nails, the column of smoke of the fire of prowess, the flow of ichor on the temple of the elephant of Gift,<sup>1</sup> the stuff-like plaited hair of the Fortune of the enemy,<sup>2</sup> the young duck-weed (Blyaa Octandra) growing in the lake of beauty;—the sword which is as graceful as (the dark) cloud.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. [ अथ रण प्रयाणम् ]

भाजी-जलालदीन चित्तिप-कुलमणे[:]दाक् प्रयाणे प्रतीते

प्रेयस्यः प्रारभन्ते सरलतर-गति-म्याकुला मङ्गलानि ।

नेताम्भ-पूर पूर्ण-स्तन कलश-मुखन्यस्त-बाल-प्रवाला-

रद्व्यन्मुक्ता-कलाप-प्युत-कुच-कुसुमच्छयना कीर्ण-लाजाः ॥

1. This implies the generosity of the King.

2. I.e. the emperor is pulling the hair of Lady Fortune of his enemy. This implies that his rivals are constantly under his strict control.

3. The sword is here compared to various dark objects Thus :

Hand of Akbar compared to

His sword compared to

1. lotus
2. moon (finger-nails)
3. fire
4. elephant of Gift
5. x
6. lake of beauty

1. swarm of black bees.
2. dark spot on the moon
3. smoke issuing from it.
4. ichor flowing from it.
5. plaited hair
6. duck-weed.

O Gāzi Jallaluddin the foremost of all kings, as soon as your beloved ones are convinced of your march for conquest they,—moving to and fro in confusion—begin to perform the auspicious rites, their children are the tender leaves on the tops of the breast-pitchers filled up with tears and they go on scattering fried rice under the pretext of falling pearls and the flowers dropping down from their breasts <sup>1</sup>

#### 4. [अथ रण, ]

वीर त्व कर्मुक चेदकर कलयस्युप्र टड्डार घोष

दूरे सद्य कलदा ह्य धरखिमुतो यान्ति कलाल रोया ।

शङ्कापन्नध कि कारणमिति मनसा भ्रान्ति पट्टायितेन

लपत्वाऽहद्वारमद्वाद्रिस्तजति गृहिणी कि च लद्धाधिनाथ <sup>2</sup> ॥

#### *The Emperor on the battle field*

O Akbar the hero! when you carry the bow with a terrible twanging sound, the stain like Kings reduced to skeletons immediately recede to a great distance The

1 For the performance of auspicious rites, new mango leaves are placed on the top of pitchers filled with holy water. Further, fried rice is scattered all around. Here the breasts of the ladies of the harem soaked with their tears are conceived as pitchers filled with holy water and the suckling babes as the fresh leaves covering the top of the pitchers, and the pearls and flowers, torn asunder in distress, as the fried rice scattered all around.

2 PT 97=SS 158

king of Laṅkā seized with terror, shunning his pride as a consequence of his mind being besmeared with the mud of confusion about the (real) cause, abandons his wife.<sup>1</sup>

### 5. [ अथ कीर्तिः ]

विस्फार्य व्योम-गङ्गामल-गुह<sup>2</sup>-लहरी वैतवात् केसराली-

रुच्यैर्मास्तक्य<sup>3</sup>-देरो हिमकर-भ्रष्टात्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।

दिङ्नागारब्ध-भ्रम्पस्तव<sup>4</sup> विशद-यशःकेसरो काविलेन्द्र<sup>5</sup>

प्रह्लाण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संकमी चंकमीति<sup>6</sup> ॥

[ अश्वरोय-कालिदासस्य ]

*Fame.*

O Lord of Kabul, the great lion of your fame is again and again roaming about, having spread out its manes in the form of transparent and big waves of the Mandākinī, and having coiled up its tail on its lofty head in the form of the Moon,<sup>7</sup> and having jumped upon the

1. The king of Laṅkā is unable to determine the cause of the terrible sound of the Emperor's bow and of the immediate destruction of the enemies of the Emperor. This confuses his mind which again makes him give up his pride and run away, leaving even his wife behind.

2. v.r. SS. गङ्गावलदुहः

3. v.r. SS. मस्तिष्कदेहे

4. v.r. SS. सम्यस्तव ।

5. v.r. SS. गुर्गेरु

6. PV. 76=SS. 80.

7. Here the fame of the king is conceived as a mighty lion as high as the sky. So the manes of the lion are said to be the waves of the celestial river Mandākinī while the coil of its tail, the moon.

quarter-elephants<sup>1</sup> and having come into contact with all the forests in the world and the deep caves in mountains.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. EMPEROR OF DELHI

राजेति क्षणदाकरं विजयते दानोदलक्ष्मीरिति

स्वर्गं बहु-बाहिनोपतिरिति क्षीरोदमासन्दति ।

दुर्गाधीश इति स्फुटं पुररिपुं विद्वेष्टि भोगोद्धट-

धीरित्यदति बाहुकिं स्व-वरासा दिक्षीन्द्र-चूडामणिः ॥

वाणीकगठामरणस्य ।

As a king<sup>3</sup> the paramount lord of Delhi puts the Moon to shame and the Airāvata that is exquisitely beautiful on account of shedding ichor,<sup>4</sup> challenges the Kṣīroda sea which is the lord of many rivers,<sup>5</sup> rivals,

1. I.e. the King's fame spread over the quarters. It implies that the King's fame spread far and near on all sides.

2. I.e. just as a lion has access even to a deep and remote forest, caves etc., so the king's fame now rules supreme in every nook and corner of the world.

3. Here the pun is on the word Rājan:—I king ; 2 Moon.

4. The pun here is on the Dānorulakṣmī. In the case of the king, it means 'his fortune has increased immensely by the practice of charity' while in the case of the elephant, it means 'whose beauty has increased immensely by the flow of ichor.'

5. Here the pun is on the word Bahuvāhinīpati. In the case of the king it means the lord of many armies while in the case of sea, it means the lord of many rivers.

openly the enemy of the (three) cities i.e. Mahādeva, lord of Durgā<sup>1</sup> and torments Vāsuki possessing a supremely beautiful hood<sup>2</sup> on account of his fame.

### 3. JAHANGIR

स्यामं यशोपवीतं तव किमिति मयीसंगमात् कुत जातः  
सोऽयं शीतांशु-वन्द्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जलं वञ्जलाकम् ।  
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षितिमण-रिपु-क्षोषिभूत-पद्मलाक्षी-  
लक्ष्मीणाधु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः सङ्गमेन<sup>3</sup> ॥

Why is your sacred thread black? On account of its contact with ink. Wherefrom is it? From the water of the Narmadā. How did its water become tinged with collyrium? On account of its union with all around, the rivers originating from the ceaseless blow of tears of lakhs of the (beautiful) ladies with long eyelashes (of the courts) of the hostile kings of the infuriated king Nūrdina.

### 4. MUDDAFAR SHAH

आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्पत दिशस्त्वं पृथिवि पृथ्वी भव  
प्रत्यक्षीकृतमादिराज यशसा युष्मानिदग्ज्जन्मितम् ।  
भीमुदाफर-शाह-पार्थिव-यशोराशेः समुज्जम्भणाद्-  
बीजोच्छ्वास-विदीर्णं दाडिम-दशां मद्भाण्डमारोक्ष्यति ॥

1. Here the pun is on the word Durgādhitā. i. The lord of many fortresses; ii. Siva, Lord of Durgā.

2. Here the pun is on the word भोगोदयभी meaning in the case of the Emperor of Delhi—i. Whose great fortune increases enjoyment; and in the case of Vāsuki—ii. whose beauty is enhanced by its hood.

3. Raga-Gaṅgādhara, p. 703.



O sky, widen yourself; O quarters, you too extend yourselves; O earth! You too be larger; you (all) have witnessed the glorious upheaval of the fame of Veṇa. The Universe will attain the plight of a pomegranate bursting on account of the swelling up of the seeds due to the wide extension of the fame of king Muddaṣar Shah.<sup>1</sup>

## 5. NIZAM SHAH

१. [अथ सौन्दर्य-प्रधाना नृप स्तुतिः ]

अयं कामो निजामो वा किं त्वया भवधारितम् ।

इति दृष्टिरिव प्रष्टुं ध्रुतिं भयति मुमुक्षुवाम् ॥

॥ भाग्यधरस्य ॥

### *King's physical charm.*

Whether this is Nizam or Cupid—what do you think—in order to ask this as it were the eye of the lovely-browed (ladies) approaches the ear.<sup>2</sup>

1. The sense is that the earth, etc. witnessed glory of former kings such as Veṇa but they did not burst then. The fame of Muddaṣar Shah is such that the earth is unable to bear it and is on the point of bursting asunder, so to speak.

2. Padya-racanā, 17.6.

3. i.e. the eyes of these damsels are so large that they are conceived as stretching up to the ear (ākṣṛṇavistṛta). The sense is that even exquisitely beautiful damsels are enamoured of the physical charm of the king and taking him to be Cupid incarnate.

[ अथ राज वर्णनम् ]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह विलसत्-सिन्दूर-कुन्द-सजि

स्रष्टा त्वचरखं विधाय निदधे वैरि-धियो मूर्धनि ।

सोमन्तस्य चक्रास्त्रि काऽपि सरणिस्तस्योर्ध्व-रेखादयः

सिन्दूरस्य कणा जयन्ति किरणाः कुन्दानि मन्ये नखाः<sup>1</sup> ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O Nizam Shah longed for by the world, the Creator made your foot and placed the same on the head of the beautiful wife of your rival king shining with vermilion and a garland of *kundas*.<sup>2</sup> The parting of the hair (of that lady) shines as the shooting upward lines of your feet; the particles of vermilion (looking like rays) triumph (too); and methinks, the *kundas* are the nails (of your feet).

[ अथ राज्ञः सौन्दर्योत्कर्षवर्णनम् ]

भेदो वाचि दशोर्जलं कुचतटे स्वेदः प्रकम्पोऽधरे

पाण्डुर्गण्डतटी वपुः पुलकितं लोनं मनस्विप्रति ।

आलस्यं नयन-ध्रियधरणयोः स्तम्भः समुज्जम्भते

तत् किं राजपथे निजाम-धरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः<sup>3</sup> ॥

[ भानुदत्त-कृत राज मञ्जर्याः ]

1. Padya-racanā, 16.4

2. So it turns out that the rival of the king is always under his control.

3. Rasa-mañjarī, Benares ed., v. 121, p. 190.

Bhānūdatta gives this verse as an illustration of all the *sāttvikabhāvas* or bodily signs due to amorous sentiments manifesting themselves all together. The idea is that some lady has been subject to all the *Sāttvika-bhāvas* all at once; this is only possible if a handsome and pleasant personality

*Personal charm.*

The choking of the voice, water in both the eyes, perspiration of breasts, tremulation in the lower lip; cheeks white, (entire) body horripilated and the mind (is) merged; the dimness of the beauty of the eyes and the motionlessness of the feet are on the increase. Is it then that the Nizam is seen on the high street?

[ अथ खड्गः ]

धरणिधर निजामशाह शुष्मत्-कर-करवाल-कराल-कालसर्पः ।

द्विपदसु-पवनं निपीय पोनो दिशि दिशि मुचति कञ्चुकं यशस्ते ॥

॥ भावुकराय ॥

*The sword.*

O King Nizam Shah, the terrible cobra in your hand, the sword, sucks in the vital breath of your enemies, attains obesity and leaves off its skin, your fame, on all sides.<sup>1</sup>

like the Nizam be seen by her. A lady, therefore, asks her friend or the lady undergoing the Sāttvika-bhāvas whether she has actually seen the Nizam on the High Street.

“नहि सादृश-छन्दमन्तरेण सौख्यं सर्वे सात्त्विक-विकारा उल्लसदुरिति सात्त्विकम् ।

इह स्वर-भङ्गाद्यु-स्यन्द कम्प्यं वेश्मय-रोमाञ्च प्रलय-जम्भा-स्तम्भाः स्फुटा एव ।  
अपर-कम्पेन सुम्पन-मृहा ; गण्ड पाणिदन्ता विरह-कन्दनं ; मनोलीनतया तदेक-  
सानस्य बाह्यमेव-वेमुक्तं राज विषयक-रतिश्च प्रतीयते ।”

1. The sword is here compared to a terrible cobra. A snake is conventionally supposed to live on air (Vāyubhuk). In the same manner, the sword is conceived as sucking in the life-breath (prāṇavāyu) of the enemies, that is why it becomes fat, and its old skin is torn asunder as a result.

लोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजश्वरं

जानोमः करवाल-काल-भुजगी किं नाम गर्भित्यभूत् ।

यद्भिन्नेभ-कपोल-लोल विगतन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छता-

दच्छामण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः<sup>1</sup> ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

### *The sword of the Nizam*

O Nizam longed for by the whole world, evidently your sword, a female-serpent, came into contact with your hand, lord of serpents, and became pregnant. Flashing again and again, she (the sword) is producing bright eggs one after another, in the guise of gems quickly dropping down from the shattered temples of (the) elephants (of rival kings<sup>2</sup>).

### *Description of his flag (a).*

वृषति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।

रचयति बहिरिव रसनामहण ध्वज कैतवाददभिः<sup>3</sup> ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world wide repute.

1. PT. 85=SS. 134.

2. Here the sword of the king is conceived as a female serpent. King's hand as a male one. The king by means of his sword is mowing down the huge elephants of rival kings and the pearls from their heads are dropping down like eggs.

3. PT. 84=SS. 143=PV. 131.

Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner.<sup>1</sup>

*Description of his flag (b).*

निजाम-बल्लुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोण-क्षेत्रे दृशो

रणाज्जण-समुद्भूतैः प्रतिमटैर्विमिमीकृतम् ।

वपुर्विपुल-वेषयु व्ययित्तमज्जिनी-ग्रेयसो

मण-ज्वर-विशङ्कया किमु पताकया स्पृश्यते<sup>2</sup> ॥ भातुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth, casts his angry look (at them), the rival fighters, very skilful in the battle-field, break arwain. The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores.<sup>3</sup>

1. The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion. The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth. The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over.

2. PV. 132.

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun. To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner wraps it up as it were. The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high.

क्षोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजङ्गेश्वरं

जानोमः करवाल-काल भुजगी किं नाम गर्भिण्यभूत् ।

यद्भिन्नेभ-कपोल-लोत विगलन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छला-

दच्छामण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः<sup>1</sup> ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

### *The sword of the Nizam*

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### *Description of his flag (a)*

नृपति-निजाम-धमू चरणार्पणं जनित-प्रभूत पीडाभिः ।

रथयति सहिरिव रत्ननामकस्य ध्वजं वैतवादवनिः<sup>3</sup> ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world wide repute.

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Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner <sup>1</sup>

*Description of his flag (b)*

निजाम-यमुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोण-क्षेत्रे दशौ

रणाङ्गण-समुद्भूटे प्रतिगटे विभिन्नीकृतम् ।

वपुर्विपुल-वेषसु व्यधिसमन्विता प्रेयसो

मण ज्वर विराड्वा क्षिपु पसाक्या स्पृश्यते<sup>2</sup> ॥ मानुषस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth casts his angry look (at them) the rival fighters very skilful in the battle field, break atwain The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores <sup>3</sup>

1 The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over

2 PV 132

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner wraps it up as it were The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high

दाने द्राघीयसि कपटत खस्रटिन्या खटिन्या

रेखामेकं तव कृतवता पुष्करागार भित्तौ ।

नैव प्रापि कचिदपि तत श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-

स्तेनाकारि स्थगित मनसा वेधसा विन्दुरिन्दु <sup>1</sup> ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

*Nizam's bounteousness*

O Nizam, a long series of (your) gifts continuing, Brahmā secretly drew a line on the wall of his lodge Puskara with a chalk, Mandākini, then nowhere did he find a second to you, and therefore, he, stupefied, put in a full stop (by the side of that line) in the form of the moon <sup>2</sup>

[ राज-कीर्तिः ]

विद्वद्गोप्त्री गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रतीम

कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्तिं गाथां वहति गण विधि पद्ययोनि कठिन्या ।

वक्रा लेखा गुरुणाममृतकर-कला कम्बु मञ्जी मराला

शुद्धा लेखा सघूनां विस भुजग-नमोनिग्रगा दन्तिदन्ता ।<sup>3</sup>

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV 100

2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandakini and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathī is conceived here as a white chalk mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full stop excluding the possibility of any other equally liberal King

3. Padya racana 8. p 10



appears that the lotus born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables i.e., ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk. The moon digits, the conch, the jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syllables) <sup>1</sup>

[ राज प्रताप-वर्णनम् ]

क्षीणीकाम निजामशाह भवत प्रौढ प्रतापानलै-

र्द्दगैव द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।

भ्रम्यद्वासव धाम धोरणि मुहुर्मज्जद्भद्र-प्रामणि

तत्पत-कगिनि निष्पतद्भवि तल मेरो समुन्मीलति ॥<sup>2</sup>

॥ भाग्यवरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (s) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scanning the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam i.e., marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines. Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc. as the curved lines of Brahmā's scanning while the straight lotus stalk, etc., as the vertical lines. The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc., like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc., are singing the praise of the King in unison.

appears that the lotus born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables : e, ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk The moon digits, the conch, the jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandakini and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syllables) <sup>1</sup>

[ राज प्रताप-वर्णनम् ]

सौशीकानि निजामशाह भवत प्रीड प्रतापानले-

दर्शिव द्रव-स्मृतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।

अरयद्वातव घाम धोरणि मुहुर्मन्त्रद्मद-मामणि

तस्यत-चामिनि निष्पतद्दनि खल मेरो समुन्मीलति ॥<sup>2</sup>

॥ भागुकराय ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

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दाने द्राघीयसि कथटतः खस्तटिन्या खटिन्या

रेखामेका तव कृतवता पुष्करागार-भित्तौ ।

नैव प्रापि कचिदपि तत श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-

स्तेनाकारिस्थगित मनसा वेधसा बिन्दुरिन्दुः<sup>1</sup> ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

*Nizam's bounteousness.*

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[ राज-कीर्तिः ]

विद्वद्गोष्ठी-गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट-दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रसीम-

कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्तिं गार्था वहति यथ विधिं पद्मयोनिं कटिन्या ।

यका लेखा गुरुणाममृतकर-कला वम्बु-मल्ली-मराला-

शुद्धा लेखा लघूनां विस-भुजग-नभोनिम्रगा दन्तिदन्ता<sup>3</sup> ।<sup>3</sup>

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned, the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV. 100

2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandākinī and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathī is conceived here as a white chalk-mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full-stop excluding the possibility of any other equally liberal King.

3. Padya racanā 8, p. 10.

appears that the lotus born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables : e. ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk. The moon digits, the conch, the jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandakini and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syllables) <sup>1</sup>

[ राज प्रताप-वर्णनम् ]

श्रीश्रीकाम निजामराह भवत श्रीह प्रतापानलै-

ह्रीगेव हव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराङ्गा चये ।

अरवद्वातव धाम धोरणि मुहुर्मन्मद-मानणि

तत्पत-वामिनि निव्यतद्वनि तल मेरो गमुग्मीलति ॥<sup>2</sup>

॥ मातुरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (a) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scanning the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam : e. marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines. Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc as the curved lines of Brahmā scanning while the straight lotus stalk, etc., as the vertical lines. The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc., like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc., are singing the praise of the King in unison.

2. FV. 69=SSS 105

## 6. SHAH JAHAN

भूगुन्मोलि-तटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ

जाता भूप सरस्वती विजयिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।

श्रीमच्छाहिजहाँ प्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं

यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिरस्तन्मूर्धजोऽलीयति<sup>1</sup> ॥

॥ हरिनारायण-मिश्राणाम् ॥

When the dense cloud pours rain on the summits of the mountains, O king, the Sarasvatī becomes triumphant, sonorous and sanctifying O Shah Jahan, I am telling you of her greatness—how the head of a person plunging her in water, is turned into a lotus and his hairs into bees<sup>2</sup>

1 Padyaventi, 141=SS. 138.

The PV. preserves another verse of the same author, viz No 872 (on the Ganges).

निर्गुणाऽपि सगुणा यस्तस्तरिस्तद्वज्रमात् त्रिपथे समागतम् ।

॥ करोषि सगुणं हि निर्गुणं नोचितं तदिह ते जगद्धिते ॥

2 The sense is that (i) the Sarasvatī swells up if there is heavy rain in the mountains, (ii) if the Emperor beheads the Kings, the red coloured Sarasvatī comes into existence out of the blood flowing from them.

The first meaning is that the water of the Sarasvatī enhances the beauty of the bathers, the second meaning is that the destruction of the enemies by the king ensures the permanent peace and happiness of the inhabitants

For Jagannātha's verse referring to Shah Jahan, see p 50 f.n 1

( दिक्षीवक्षम पाणि-पल्लव तले नीतं नवीनं वय । )

## 7 SHER SHAH

श्लोकार्धे वा तदर्थे यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्दुर्लभं

किं नश्चिन्नं तदा स्यात् कवि कुलं विदुषां काव्य-कोटीश्वराणाम् ।

बाहाधेद् गन्धबाहाधिक-पुमग-रया पश्यता काण सखा

का हानिं सेरसाह दितिय-कुलमशेरस्य-कोटीश्वरस्य ॥<sup>1</sup>

॥ भानुवरस्य ॥

If the critics find some fault with one half of a verse (of mine) or even with one half of that (i.e. one-fourth of the whole verse) what harm accrues to me the most learned of all poets and the composer of millions of poems What is the harm accruing to the paramount lord Sher Shah if out of his million of horses only five or six speedier than air happen to be one-eyed and lame

# SUPPLEMENT

## II

### आसफ-विलास आख्यायिका

श्रीगजयदनाय नमः

अस्ति समस्त प्रशस्त-भूपाल-मस्तक-भणि-भयूष-माला-लालित-  
वरण-नख-शरदिन्दु-चन्द्रिका चय-चमत्कार-चुलुकित-चराचरांतर-  
तिमिर-घोरणिः सपुलक सुरासुर-सुन्दरी-समुद्गीयमान-स्फारपाख-  
परंपरा-सहोदर-यशःसुधा-पटल-सङ्ग-वामाङ्कित-वामाङ्गीक-वामदेय-  
कलेयर-प्रतिमदीकृत-लोकालोकावनिधरो महस्तम्भ-तरणि-किरण-  
सरणि-समुल्लासित-जगदण्ड मण्डल-पुण्डरीकः साहिजहानाभिध-  
अक्षवर्ती ॥ अपि च ॥

पारीद्राणां धुरीणैरवनिधर-गुहा गर्भतः प्रोत्पतद्भिः  
स्वाप भ्रंशापराध प्रचलित-नयन प्रांतमाकर्ण्यमानः ।  
यत्प्रस्थानांतरुद्यत्प्रलय-जलधर ध्वान-धिक्कार धीरो  
धृष्ट क्षीरोद तीरो जगति विजयते दुःखुभि द्रं द्रनादः ॥१॥  
द्वारांदोलन्मदांध-द्विरद-घनघटा-गण्ड-पट्ट-प्रसर्प-  
हानोद्दाम-प्रणाली मिलदलिवलयोद्भोत चाप प्रतापाः ।  
भूपास्तेऽपि प्रभातोन्मद कमलसमुल्लासि-शोभाभिरामां  
दैव्य प्रामांधकार कथन दिनकृतो यस्य दृष्टिं अयन्ते ॥२॥  
यस्योद्दाम दिवानिशार्थि-विलसद्दान प्रवाद-प्रथा-  
माकर्ण्यावनि मण्डलागत-वियद्दं दीन्द्र-वृन्दाननात् ।  
ईर्ष्या-निर्भर फुल्ल-रोमनिकर-ध्यावलगदूर्ध्वाऽ]न्नवत्-  
पीयूष-प्रसवैः सुरेन्द्र-सुरभिः प्रावृट्पयोदायते ॥३॥

यतो निशि शैशवेन दूरीकृत निद्रस्य गजाननस्य गौरी ।

उपगायति भीतये यदुद्यन्मद यूथाधिप-यूथ-दानकीर्तिम् ॥४॥

स कदाचिद्विपुल बल वशीभवद्भुसुमती-चलय वेल्हनीकृत यशो विमलांशुकः, प्रचण्ड भुज दण्ड-मण्डली भवत्कोदण्ड निःसरत्कांड खंडीकृताशेष शात्रवः, करटतट निर्गलन्मद द्रव निर्झराणां संप्रति समुत्पन्नानां घराधर शिशूनामिव रिंगतां मतंगजानां संघट्टैः प्रथम समागम तस्त नयांगना नासाप्र लंघि मुक्ताफल-चापल मलिनलुब्धानां प्रतिध्वनिकर शिलातल-संघट्ट-समुच्छलद्विधुद्गल्लीकृत विपुल-विस्फु-लिङ्गच्छदा पदलानां वाजिनां राजिमिध्व समाकुलया सागर सम सेनया समावृतो विपमतारोहावरोहाभिः] स्वरावृत्तिभिरिव ह्लेश प्रचुर परिणाम सुखाभिवेदिक-कर्म सरणिभिरिव यद्धतिभिरना कलित दुःखलेशं कश्मीर-देशमाजगाम ॥

यस्मिन्ननवरतमपरिमित पयोद पटलपर्यापतव्यालेय पुज-पञ्जरितेन परितः स्फुरता राजत-प्राकारेणेव गौरी-गुरुणा हिमगिरिणा वेष्टिता, अमित कुसुमामोद माधनमधु म्रत व्यात गीत माहात्म्यैः कैरपि परिणत रसभार तुदिलानां फलानां प्रकरेणोपनम्र शाखाशतै-रातिथेयैरिव गृहस्थैरसख्यैः शोमिता, परिफुल्ल-पद्मिनी परिपद्विधून नोद्धूत पराग पटल पांडुरितैश्च्युपुटैरतिरस-लंपटाभिर्यरटाभिः कण्डू यित-कपोलानां राजहंसानामावलिभिः सेवितैरेकीभ्यदिन्द्रनील मणि-मयूख-मांसलानामतर्विभावनाविशेष-मिलोकनीय शेष शिखा-मणीनां सलिलानामाकरैः कमनीयतरा निविडतर शाद्वल द्याम-लिप्ता मरकतमणिमयीव समुल्लसति वसुमती ॥

अथ तत्र सकल सामन्त चक्र चूडा चुम्बित निपिल भूषण्डल-मण्डनायित चरण-कमल - परिमल-लम्पटीभवद्बदल-विबुधजन व्यात-माद्यदिदिदिदि मञ्जुल गुञ्जितैर्मुञ्जरित - दृष्टितरालो विलसित हिम



शैल शृंगस्खलत्तुंग गंगा-तरंगाभिराम-त्विषा शरदभ्रालि-विभ्राजि-  
 शुभ्रांशु-चरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुर्दधि-पारश्लिषा यशः-सुधा-पद-  
 लेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड-मंडलोऽनवरत विद्वद्भूमद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य -  
 माद्यद्विपोदाम-दर्पौघ-विद्रावणप्रौढ-पंचाननो महामहीरुह इव  
 द्विजकुलायद्वितः कतुरिव (?) मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि  
 हिमांशुरिव सकलासुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्व-  
 भौमसंघंघिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य कलापः  
 काव्यकलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः सकल-  
 सहृदय-हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः सकल-शास्त्र-  
 सारावगाही नयावासफजाही ।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध-सुमनः-समूह-सुपमा -  
 समास्तरण-संभावित-विद्वंभरावलयम् उपरि - मिलदलि - पुंज -  
 मंजुल-गुंजितैर्धन्वि-वृंद-वदन - विनिर्गत-विबुधविटपि-विजयविरुदा-  
 वलीभिरिवानत फंधरैरसंरयैरवनीरुहैः कठिनकर कर-निकर संक्रा-  
 सतः शरणागतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरंबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापी-  
 मिश्र मनोहरमेकोकृतमिव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मी-लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं  
 प्रविशद्भि (?) वाङ्मनस-वर्त्मातिथर्ति-पुंजीकृत सकल कुसुम-सौकु-  
 मार्य-सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनंगेनेव निर्मिताभिर्भृंशं नयन-  
 निपातस्थानीभयदंगाभिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छायादंतुरित धनान्तराभिर्निकप-  
 शिला-तलोल्लिखिताभिरिव कांचन-रेखाभिर्निबिडतर-नील-पयोद-  
 भ्रमेणागताभिरिव सौदामिनीभिर्दर-विकसित-रदन-मणि-किरण-  
 सरणि-समाप्यायित-चकोरीभिस्परि विभ्राम्यमाणेनापि स्वतो नीरा-  
 जितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल कमलेन राजित-कर-किशलयामिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-  
 पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुखं धावतामुन्मत्तमधुमतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः  
 काभिरपि किंचिदुच्चपरिणत-फल ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तट-

समापतप्रिय-नयन-संकोचेन चोन्नमित-परावर्तित-भुज-लताभि-  
रन्याभिः कर-कमल-कलित - मुकुर-मंडल-प्रतिविवित-प्रिय वदन-  
चुंबन-मुकुलीकृताधराभिः काभिरपि गायंतीभिः सारिका-वलि-  
वृथांगुली-कंप संपादित धीणागीत भ्रमाभिरंगनाभिरनङ्ग समुल्लासयां-  
यभूय ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर-संसर्ग-जनित गुरु-गर्भ-निर्वासनाय  
विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मंडलं परम-सौन्दर्य-सुन्दरी-करण लालित-  
लोचन लोभनीयमूर्तिम्, तादृशानङ्ग-सर्वस्यापमान रूप यौवनशालि-  
नीरवधीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम रसस्य अगोचरं कधि-  
गयीनाम्, तच्च निखिल-जन नयन-निर्माण साफल्यमिव वनमालोन्म्य  
चंडीश-कर तांडवित-चंड दंडाहति - खंडीकृत-कोटि-कोटीर कोटिभि-  
र्धरणीतल धूलि धयलीभयदृष्टांगाभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमर-  
निकरैः सेवितं भगवंतममरेभ्वराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः  
कदमीरमंडलम् आपण्डलो नयन सादृश्य विरुतीकृताननमात्मानं,  
सुश्रुतिः परंपरोपमोग्यास्त्रिदशतृणीर्निशांतोपवनापहृतरमणीयतया  
निज नयनानामनानंदनं [ नं ] दनं [ च ] नातिबहुमेने ।<sup>1</sup>

अथ सकल लोक-निस्तार विस्तारित-महोपकार परंपराधीन-  
मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य हृद्य-भद्य-पद्याद्यनेक विद्या-विद्योतितांतः-  
करणैः कधिभिरपास्यमानेन कृतयुगीकृत कलिकालेन कुमति वृणजाल-  
समाच्छादित वेद वन-मार्ग - विलोचनाय समुदीपित सत्तर्क-दहन  
ज्वाला ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेव नथायासफसान मन्यसादेन द्विजकुल-

1. It is surprising that the MS. having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

शैल शृङ्गस्खलचुङ्ग गङ्गा-तरङ्गाभिराम त्विषा शरदभ्रालि-विभ्राजि-  
 शुभ्रांशु-चरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुर्दधि पारश्लिषा यशः सुधा-पट-  
 लेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड-मंडलोऽनवरत चिद्वद्भू-मद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य -  
 माद्यद्विपोद्दाम-दर्पौघ-विद्रावणप्रौढ पञ्चाननो महामहीरुह इव  
 द्विजकुलायदितः क्रतुरिव (!) मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि  
 हिमांशुरिव सकलासुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्व-  
 भौमसंधंधिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य कलापः  
 काव्यकलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः सकल-  
 सहृदय हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः सकल-शास्त्र-  
 सारावगाही नयायासफजाही ।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध-सुमनः समूह-सुपमा -  
 समास्तरण संभावित-विश्वंभराचलयम् उपरि - मिलदलि - पुंज -  
 मंजुल गुंजितैर्धन्दि-वृन्द-वदन - विनिर्गत विबुधविदपि-विजयविरुदा-  
 धलीभिरिवानत कंधरैरसंख्यैरवनीरुहैः कठिनकर कर निष्कर संज्ञा  
 सतः शरणागतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरंबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापी-  
 भिश्च मनोहरमेकीकृतमिव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मी लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं  
 प्रविशद्भि (!) वाङ्मनस वत्सर्गातिवर्ति पुंजीकृत सकल कुसुम सौकु-  
 मार्य-सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनंगेनेव निर्मिताभिर्भृंशं नयन-  
 निपातस्थानीभवर्दगामिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छायादंतुरित वनान्तरामिर्निकष-  
 शिला तलोल्लिखिताभिरिव कांचन-रेखामिर्निविडतर-नील-पयोद-  
 भ्रमेणागताभिरिव सौदामिनीभिर्दर-विकसित-रदन-मणि-किरण-  
 सरणि-समाप्यायित चकोरीभिस्परि विभ्राम्यमाणेनापि स्वतो नीरा-  
 जितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल कमलेन राजित-कर-किशल्याभिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-  
 पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुपंघावतामुन्मत्तमधुवतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः  
 कामिरपि किंचिदुद्यपरिणत-फल ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तद-

समापतत्प्रिय-नयन-संकोचेन चोन्नमित परावर्तित-भुज-लताभि-  
रन्याभिः कर कमल-कलित - मुकुर मण्डल-प्रतिविम्बित प्रिय वदन-  
चुंबन मुकुलीकृताधराभिः कामिरपि गायंतीभिः सारिका-वलि-  
घृथांगुली-कंप संपादित वीणागीत भ्रमाभिरंगनाभिरनङ्गं समुल्लासयां-  
यभूव ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर संसर्ग-जनित गुह्य-गर्भ-निर्वासनाय  
विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मण्डलं परम-सौन्दर्यं सुन्दरी करण लालित-  
लोचन लोमनीयमूर्तिम्, ताश्चानङ्ग-सर्वस्वायमान रूप-यौवनशालि-  
नीरघ्वीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम रसस्य आगोचरं कवि-  
गयीनाम्, तच्च निखिल जन नयन निर्माण साफल्यमिव यत्नमालोक्य  
चंडीश-कर तांडवित चंड दंडाहति चंडीकृत-कोटि-कोटीर कोटिभि-  
र्धरणीतल धूलि धवलीभवदष्टाङ्गाभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमर-  
निकरैः सेवितं भगवन्तममरेधराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः  
कदमीरमण्डलम् आर्यण्डलो नयन साहस्य विह्वलीकृताननमात्मानं,  
सुरुति परंपरोपभोग्यास्त्रिदशतल्पीनिर्दिशन्तोपयनापहृतरमणीयतया  
निज नयनानामनानन्दनं [ नं ] दनं [ च ] नातिथदुमेने ।<sup>1</sup>

अथ सकल लोक निस्तार विस्तारित-महोपकार परंपराधीन-  
मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य हृद्य गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक विद्या-विद्योत्तितांः-  
वरणैः कप्रिभिरुपास्यमानेन कृतयुगीकृत कलिकालेन कुमति कृणजाल-  
समाच्छादित धेदु चन मार्ग - विन्दोकनाय समुदीपित मत्तक-दहन  
ज्वाला ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेषु नयायासफग्वान मनःसादेन छिजकुल-

1. It is surprising that the MS having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

Verses	Pages	Verses	Pages
ज		नभोलताकुञ्जमुपा०	29
जलाल क्षोणिपाल	34	नयनस्य तुला चक्रे	24
जातः स्वभ्यं न जग्राह	32	न याचे मजालिं	48
जानामि दानाय सुवर्ण०	79	नायं मुधति सुध्रुवा०	28
त		निरुध्य यान्तीं तरसा	70
तवालम्बादम्ब	61	निर्भिद्य क्षमाह्वाणा०	68
तस्यानुरजनायैव	79	निर्माय नूतनमुदा०	50
सातो यस्य गणेश्वरः	5	निर्यात्यन्तःसमुद्रं	69
साहगद्गङ्ग-विवर्त०	22	नीलाश्वलेन संवृत०	70
साराक्षतानिव किरन्	30	नृपति-निजाम-चमू०	22
सुज्ञाभोगे स्तन गिरि०	24	प	
सैषामायः धीनिवासः	80	परीरम्भारम्भ०	23
सैलज्ञान्वय-मञ्जला०	46	पापाणादपि पीयूषं	46
,, (Not same as above)	63	प्रस्थानं रति-भन्दिरात्	6
तिभुवन-जन-गीतो०	70	प्रातःस्मेर सरोरुहा०	24
स्वदङ्घ्रि कुलाम्बुज०	64	भ	
द		भक्ति प्रह विलोकन०	75
दिगन्ते ध्रुयंते मद०	78	भल्लैभिष्ठाः प्रति०	22
दिल्लीशो द्वार-देशो	8	भूदादेय सतां	21
दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदी०	49	गृह्णाली कण्ठ-माला०	43
,, ,,	63	भृक्षि-प्रस्तुत-पीति०	40
दिव्यो छपीलो	70	मेरो भाङ्गतिभि०	8
दु खं दीर्घतरं बह०	25	भ	
दुर्वृत्ता जार-जन्मानो	58	मदन-विजय यासा०	44
दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्गण सन्निधौ	26	महज्जीला लोसज्जदरि०	61
घ		माया-बद्ध-कुतूहले	21
घम्मिल्लभीः किमास्ये	42	माला शालाम्बुज दल०	27
न		मृगाङ्गमागतं मोक्षय	29
न पालयति	75	मृपैव निगदन्त्यमो	35

Verses	Pages	Verses	Pages
मीली किं नु महेश	... 40	श	
य		शार्ङ्गलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे	... 36
यश्नत्येके देवान्	... 62	शास्त्राख्याकलितानि	... 50
यशान्नु जगत्-प्रसिद्ध०	... 79	शीतार्ता इव सङ्कु०	... 47
यवनी नवनीत०	... 48	श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं	... 48
यवनी रमणी	... 48	श्रीमज्ज्ञानेन्द्रभिद्यो०	... 47
य		श्रीमत्कृष्ण-वंश०	... 9
रस-गङ्गाधरे	... 60	श्लोकार्थे वा तदर्थे	... 6
राम त्वद्वत्त मत्तेभ०	... 35	स	
ल		संस्पृश्य स्वब०	... 29
सत्त्वमीपतिश्चतुर्थश्च	... 80	सन्निगृह्य चिकुरं	... 28
सद्वा-धामनि धीरभातु०	... 8	समाहारः शीर्षा विरचित	... 65
सद्धा विद्या	... 53	सूक्ष्म विभाव्य	... 60
य		सेवा-सारम्भ-जम्भ०	... 38
यदन्तु देव तावत्कं	... 36	स्नातं वारिद-वारिमि०	... 25
पाणी कार्तिक-रोहिणी०	... 24	स्नातं वारिषु	... 31
वितण्डा-हेत्वाद्यैरति०	... 54	स्फूर्जच्चक्षुष्यधरे०	... 31
विपत्ता निःशङ्कं	... 62	स्मेरे मन्त्रावतंते	... 41
विशाल-विषयादृषी०	... 64	ह	
विशालाभ्यामाभ्या	... 62	हे गौरि त्रुहि	... 35
विभ-विह्वयात् भुदेवो	... 80	हे मन्त्रि हे मालति	... 45
विस्फार्य म्योग-गङ्गा०	... 34		

The *Prastāvas* of the verses quoted in this work as such have not been reproduced here.

# ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF VERSES QUOTED IN THE SUPPLEMENTS

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अर्थं कामो निजाभो	... 101	भूशृन्मौलितटीपु	... 110
अज्ञाः सजात-भज्ञाः	... 108	मेदो वाचि दृशोर्जलं	... 102
आकाश प्रसर	... 100	यस्योदाम-दिवानिशा०	... 113
छोणोकाम निजामशाह	... 102	राजेति वृणदाकरं	... 99
„ „	... 104	रुदतो निशि शैशवेन	... 114
„ „	... 107	वाह-य्यूह-सुर-चतां	... 109
गाजी-अल्लालदीन	... 96	विद्वद्गोष्ठी-भारिष्ठ	... 106
क्षाने द्राघीयसि कपटतः	... 106	विस्फार्य व्योम-गङ्गा०	... 98
द्वारान्दोलन्मदान्ध०	... 112	वीर त्वं कार्मुकं चे०	... 97
घरशिपर निजामशाह	.. 13	शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकीर्णे	... 95
निजाम-वसुधाधिपे	... 105	श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं	... 100
निर्मुण्याऽपि सगुणा	... 110	श्लोकार्थे वा तदर्थे	... 111
वृषति-निजाम चमू०	... 104	हस्ताम्भोजालि-माला	... 96
पारोन्वाणां धुरीणै०	... 112		

## APPENDIX III

### ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE VERSES OF BHĀNUKARA QUOTED IN THE PADYA-RACANĀ

The first figure against each *Parīkṣā* refers to the page of the Padya-racanā and the second to the verse number as given in that page.

Verses	Pages	Verses	Pages
अकरोः किमु	... 53·5	आनाये नटनं	... 57·25
आयुज्जसद्विप्त०	... 30·40	आलुम्य विम्वधर०	... 80·20
अथ संसार-संदार	... 83·39	आत्मीयं धरणं	... 72·3
अधोतरस्यो दिशि	... 78·4	उहं यत्कृषणं	... 59·42
अधारम्य	... 21·28	उत्तरन्दुमम्युज्जदश०	... 82·33
अनयात-अयसि	... 74·14	उद्दिदुरं स्तन-अदनं	... 74·17
अनुवनमनुयान्तं	... 84·7	उमामिमो समुद्रीदय	... 119·91
अयलाकृति समुपकल्प्य	... 64·30	उरोहृदाम्भोदह	... 56·22
अभ्युक्तसन्ति	... 79·11	ऊरोर्क्तुं तुहिन०	... 9·47
अमरैर्गतं	... 100·49	एतत् पुरः स्फुरति	... 73·5
अम्यरमेय रमयै	... 79·12	एते बारि-कृणान्	... 51·32
अयं कामो	... 17·6	एते समुल्लसन्नासी	... 81·21
अयं देवा-कुञ्जः	... 50·26	एष एव मनस्तापः	... 103·69
अयमुदय०	... 61·12	ओङ्कारो यस्य कन्दः	... 5·28
अये मातरंष्टा	... 32·20	कमलाकुच-अनघा०	... 5·24
अये मातङ्गातः	... 27·66	कान्तीदामनिवेश	... 46·17
अनघित्तुयामोर्ग	... 65·38	कान्ते कलित०	... 56·23
अनघं वपुषि	... 17·8	कापुरयः कुक्कुरध	... 114·63
अलग-भुज-सतानिः	... 28·68	कामसङ्गर०	.. 59·41
अहो बाणस्य शुन्धार्म	... 78·3	कामस्य जेनुधामस्य	... 82·32



Verses	Pages	Verses	Pages
कुन्दं दन्तैर्मधु	... 46·20	त्वमय सिन्धो जगदेकः	... 99·44
कृत्वा सिंहकलेवरं	... 5·24	दाने द्राघीयसि	... 14·32
कृष्णं समर	... 16·3	दिवसे घटिकात्रिशत्	... 51·34
केशः कुन्दमिपादिवोप०	... 51·31	दीपाङ्गुरे स्फुरति	... 49·22
कोकः स्तोत्र-विमुक्त	... 51·30	देहं हेमद्युति	... 37·51
क्रोडा-तुङ्ग-तुरङ्गगे	... 86·18	देहे दुर्ललितस्य	... 50·27
क्रोडामूलं दुकूलं	... 16·39	द्वारि स्वम्भविलमा	... 48·15
क्षोणीकाम निजाम	... 13·24	धाटीधेतोमव०	... 44·13
क्षोणीकाम निजाम	... 16·4	धुन्वत्या वर-पल्लवं	... 73·70
क्षोणीकाम निजाम	... 20·26	नभोलता-कुञ्ज०	... 70·10
गजस्य पङ्क-भग्नस्य	... 103·70	नयनोत्पलजलधारा	... 43·15
गतागत-कुतूहलं	... 46·4	नयनस्य तुलां चक्रे	... 33·29
चरमगिरिनिकुञ्ज०	... 67·51	नायं मुद्यति	... 47·8
चलं चेतः पुंसां	... 53·4	नारीणां खल०	... 52·38
चिरादुपेतः प्रथमं	... 73·6	नारीणां वचनेन कर्म	... 114·62
घूडारक्षमपांनिधि०	... 42·17	निजाम वसुधाधिप	... 19·18
चेत्पीरादपि	... 52·39	नियमितपाथी०	... 4·19
जानीमो वदनं	... 39·66	निर्णेतव्यो मन०	... 38·60
जानीमो वय०	... 39·65	निर्वेदः सरसीरहस्य	... 70·9
जीयेन वृत्तितं प्रेम	... 42·18	निष्पीत पीन-तिमिराणि	... 99·43
तव कुवलयोद्धति	... 30·8	निष्पीते क्लृप्तशोभ०	... 21·32
साह्यदण्ड-विवर्त०	... 24·49	नीराणि नक०	... 105·86
बुद्धाभोगे स्वन०	... 37·52	नीरात्तीरमुपागता	... 50·23
मुपारभार-विजुण्णं	... 80·18	नृपति-निजाम०	... 19·17
त्वं दृष्टि निरगाः	... 54·12	नो सावत् वनयामि	... 21·29
स्वप्रतापानल०	... 13·25	पतिरैः शरीरप रजगा	... 64·29
स्वदरिद्रपति केली०	... 28·69	पित्तोर्नैव वचः	... 114·61
स्वदरिद्रपति०	... 24·50	पयोदजात्तजम्बाल	... 78·2
स्वदरि-भयन०	... 28·70	पाथोपरीय पटलेन	... 77·38

Verse	Pages	Verse	Pages
प्रस्थानं रति-भन्दिरात्	... 27'63	रणत-चङ्कणानां	... 82'34
प्राग्वर्ण्यं प्रथमन्यसो	... 114'64	रभसादभि०	... 68'55
प्राची महीधर-शिला	... 77'39	राका-सारापति०	... 21'30
प्रातः स्मेरसरोरुहा०	... 31'15	रामे ब्राह्मणवेष०	... 3'14
पुल-मन्दिर-कलस०	... 92'67	रेखा काचन	... 30'9
प्रियतममजात-सौयन०	... 74'15	रुद्धमीविध्रम०	... 15'38
प्रीतः प्रकाम०	... 84'1	रुद्राधामनि धीर०	... 13'23
भस्मैर्मिन्नाः	... 22'34	लीनानसूनु	... 41'16
भित्ती भित्ती	... 72'21	बद्धोनयणित०	... 53'3
भूयादेप सतां	... 2'10	धत्तोज-द्वय०	... 72'4
भैरी-भाङ्गतिभि०	... 18'16	वपुषि तव	... 53'2
मधुपानसमुल्लसत्	... 58'34	वाणीकास्तिकरोहिणी	... 31'16
मन्दानिलादृत०	... 108'17	वासं स्थावर्य०	... 19'19
मन्यायाते सपदि	... 57'7	बाह-व्यूह०	... 18'14
मलय परन०	... 83'41	विद्वद्गोषोपरिष्ठ	... 10'8
माला घालाम्बुज०	... 54'7	विना मायं कोऽयं	... 33'25
मिलितमिहिरामासं	... 22'35	विरमति कपर्तं	... 53'6
मुक्ते काचन-कुण्डले	... 65'37	विलोक्य कमलारान्त०	... 116'71
मुखं प्रियायाः	... 75'22	येनतपचति०	... 18'15
मूर्धः शीतद्वयः	... 8'46	व्याघ्रोत्तरेक०	... 39'67
मूर्धो मन्मथ०	... 6'32	व्योम्नि प्राङ्गणमीम्नि	... 6'94
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यूना पीरुशुला०	... 38'59	मर्ता मगालोदयला	... 36'47

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### List of Abbreviations

- PR. = Padya-racanā  
 PT. = Padyāṃṣṭa-taraṅgiṇī  
 PV. = Padya-veṇī  
 RM. = Rasa-mañjarī  
 RT. = Rasa-taraṅgiṇī  
 SA. = Sābhyālaṃkaraṇa  
 SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvallī  
 SS. = Sūkti-sundara  
 SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya

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*Āin-i-Akbari*, by Gladwin.

—————by Blochmann.

Alamgir-Nāmah. See Elliot's History of India (as told by its own Historians).

*Alamkāra-tīlaka* by Bhānudatta. Tanjore MS. 5314. Substance; paper; size  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches. Sheets 28. Lines 15 to a page. Script Devanāgarī. Complete: *Five Paricchēdas*.

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